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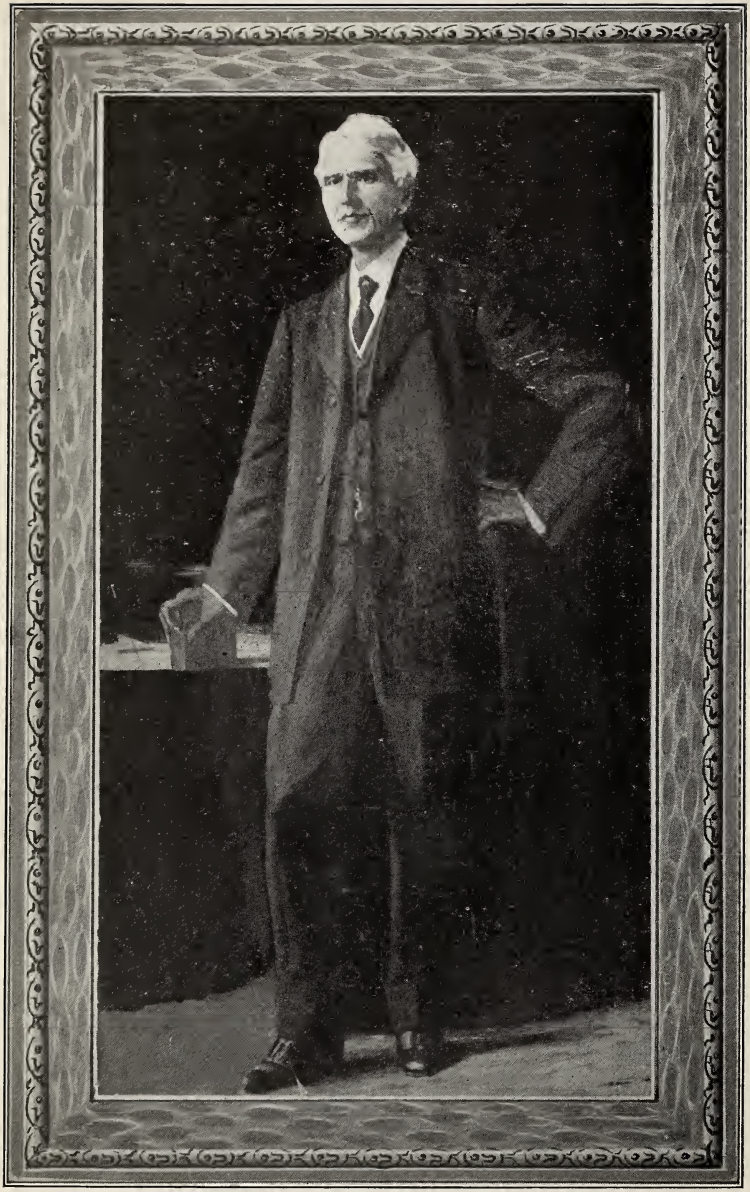

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

Portrait in the Governor's Parlor in the State Capitol; painted by Percy Ives, and purchased by popular subscription.

# MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

## Volume XXXIX

1915

TOGETHER WITH A LIST OF SUBJECTS, AUTHORS AND ILLUSTRATIONS, VOLUMES 1 TO 39, INCLUSIVE.

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1915

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# MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

A State Department; Organized May 28, 1913

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# MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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## OFFICES

In The State Capitol, Lansing.

# PREFACE

THIS volume of the Collections consists of papers read at meetings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, together with valuable historical materials collected during several years. In the reports of the meetings of the Michigan Historical Commission and of the Society may be traced the creation of a State Department for the preservation of archives, historical documents and mementoes of the State and its various subdivisions. The story of this movement and of the relations between the Commission and the Society are given with some detail, because it will come to form a chapter in the history of the State, the importance of which the future will show.

The paper on Patrick Sinclair by Mr. William L. Jenks is a valuable contribution to the history of St. Clair County and the Island of Mackinac; it deals with the period of English dominion in the Northwest, and elucidates many interesting points relative to the early commercial navigation of the Great Lakes. Into it have gone much patient research among original documents and a thorough understanding of the importance historically of the events narrated.

Miss Edna M. Twamley's study of the western sketches of Mrs. Kirkland was prepared as a thesis in connection with work for the degree of master of arts in Columbia University, New York City. Mrs. Kirkland ranks among the comparatively small number of authors whose writings have a value in tracing the literary growth of this country; and in so far as they deal with pioneer conditions in Michigan they present pictures of life during the period of settlement unsurpassed for vividness and accuracy. They are enlivened by the unfailing good humor that carried the pioneers through difficulties which, lacking this saving grace, must have proved unsurmountable. The Historical Commission has secured a number of such theses, prepared under competent direction, both historical and literary; and from time to time will publish them in a new series to be known as "The University Series."

The paper on Dr. Douglass Houghton by Roland C. Allen, Michigan State Geologist, is a step in the direction of a more adequate presentation of the work of this eminent geologist than has yet appeared in the Collections. Dr. Houghton's work in both the Upper

and the Lower Peninsula was fundamental; and the State owes to him a debt of gratitude not yet adequately acknowledged. The historical sketch of the Upper Peninsula by Judge Joseph H. Steere is one result of perhaps the widest knowledge of that region possessed by any single individual; and the Commission hope to have other papers by the same author. So, too, the paper on ancient and modern copper mining by Mr. Samuel L. Smith embodies the reflections of one who was himself a pioneer in copper-mining. The paper opens up the question as to who the "Ancient Miners" were, and reflects the changing opinions due to the application of the science of ethnology to the unsolved problem.

Mr. William Stocking, from his fund of knowledge and personal experience, discusses the "Prominent Newspaper Men of Michigan." Mr. Stocking's contributions to the interesting political history of the State have been many and valuable, although some of the most valuable of them have not appeared over his own name. The papers on Senator Thomas W. Palmer, by Miss M. Agnes Burton, and on James McMillan by the present editor, add to Michigan's political history, especially on the personal side. Mr. Byron A. Finney's exhaustive paper on "Will Carleton: Michigan's Poet" is full of personal reminiscences of a poet who enjoyed large popularity with the great mass of the people of this country.

Of particular interest in carrying on the fine traditions of the early missionaries among the Indians of Michigan are Rt. Rev. Monsignor O'Brien's sketches of Father Frank Pierz and Lady Antoinette Von Hoeffern, whose lives exemplify the high ideals of their predecessors in two previous centuries.

Mr. Fred Dustin contributes a valuable paper giving the results of his personal investigations, carried on through a number of years, into the earliest history of the Saginaw region. The fact that during a century or more before the days of history Michigan was the dwelling-place and the battleground of many tribes of Indians is now admitted by ethnologists. Here probably occurred those last great conflicts which resulted from the meeting of the tribes when, in the course of their migrations, they came together subsequent to their dispersion from the original locality in which the American Indian stock developed. Locked up in the history of these conflicts is the origin of the Mound Builders.

Several historical events in which Michigan had a greater or less part have been commemorated during the past few years. The participation of the State and of the Historical Commission in the Perry Victory Centennial is related by the president of the Perry Victory Commission, Mr. George Whitfield Parker; then there is

Governor Ferris' eloquent tribute to Lewis Cass, delivered in connection with the same celebration; and also his plea for the peaceful settlement of international differences, delivered at Mackinac Island on the occasion of the Peace Conference in July, 1914. The marking of the site of historic Fort St. Joseph, near Niles, is commemorated in the paper by Miss Rena P. Gillam, secretary of the Fort Saint Joseph Historical Society, which undertook the important and interesting work of erecting the tablet; and also by the historical address of Judge Orville W. Coolidge, delivered at Niles, July 4, 1913, when the tablet was unveiled. The Commission is particularly interested in the publication of reports and addresses showing the activities of the local historical associations.

While the paper on the General Custer Statue at Monroe by Mrs. Custer is not adequate to the subject, it serves to call attention to that tribute to one of Michigan's most brilliant soldiers during the War of Secession. The proceedings on the occasion of the unveiling have been printed separately.

The attention of teachers of history is called to the series of papers on "The Study of Michigan History." Materials for such study are to be found in the Shoemaker collection of maps described by Mr. William L. Jenks; subjects for special investigation are suggested by Dr. Wilbur D. Hedrick, of the Michigan Agricultural College, in his paper on ""The Social and Economic Aspects of Michigan History;" the literary aspects are urged by Prof. Claude L. Larzelere, of the Michigan State Normal College at Mt. Pleasant, in the paper on "The Teaching of Michigan History;" there is a stimulating paper on "The Old Northwest" by Mr. Edwin O. Wood; and a method of organizing the work among young people is suggested in the fervid paper on "A Junior Pioneer League for Michigan," by Mrs. Eleanor Griffin McNett.

In the division relating to the memoirs of pioneer settlers are Mrs. Marion Louise Hinsdell Withey's graphic account of beginnings in Grand Rapids; Mrs. Florence M. Gwinn's valuable paper on the early settlers of Huron County from 1800 to 1850; Mrs. Harriet Munro Longyear's account of picturesque happenings during the early days of Clinton County; and Mr. Robert W. Malcolm's authoritative list of the Scotch settlers of Oakland County. All of these papers are documents of value to the future historian.

Biographical sketches of men and women who have had a part in shaping the history of the State include Mr. John Fitzgibbon's account of the life of the late Mr. Ammi W. Wright, pioneer-lumberman and philanthropist; Mr. Joseph Greusel, Jr's. account of his father, Joseph Greusel, for many years one of the most widely

known and helpful newspaper men of Michigan; Senator Charles E. Townsend's sketch of his friend and former partner Mr. Justice Charles A. Blair; Dr. J. B. Kennedy's estimate of the work of Dr. Herman Kiefer, an able and public spirited physician; Mrs. Cumming's characterization of her mother, Mrs. Josiah W. Begole, wife of the Governor; Mr. Buchanan's tribute to his mother, Mrs. Sophia Hascal Buchanan; Mr. William P. Van Winkle's appreciative sketch of Messrs. Albert and William Tooley of Howell; Mrs. Baldwin's record of the eventful life of her father, Mr. Melvin D. Osband; Mr. Bridge's paper on Dr. Timothy Eastman, of Ottawa County; and brief records of William Putnam, of Lansing; Mr. Charles Emmett Barnes, former newspaper man and Deputy Commissioner of Labor; Henry H. Stafford, the first mayor of Marquette; and M. Jean Baptiste Parrisienne, for many years one of the picturesue characters of Grand Rapids and Grand Haven.

Hon. Edwin O. Wood well expresses the obligations of all students of Northwestern history to the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, whose long and abundant labors have placed his name permanently on the list of the gatherers of materials for the history of this region; and whose own writings have illumined many of the pages of our story.

In her paper on "The Revolutionary Soldiers of Oakland County," Mrs. Lillian Drake Avery has set an example of patient and painstaking research, which should be an incentive to historical workers in other counties.

The Commission, feeling keenly the need of some guide to the thirty-nine volumes of the Collections, submit herewith a list of subjects and authors represented in the series. The work on this list was done, under the direction of the editor, by Mrs. M. H. Varnum, the assistant editor.

An attempt has been made in the present volume to change the typographical appearance in some particulars, with a view to the easier reading of the articles. The object has not been attained to the degree which should be reached in later volumes. The illustrations have been selected mainly for their historic value.

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# MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

MAY 28, 1913, TO DECEMBER 31, 1913

## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

LANSING, MICHIGAN, JANUARY 1, 1914.

HON. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS,

*Governor of Michigan:*

*Sir*—In accordance with Section 9 of Act No. 271, Public Acts of 1913, we have the honor to submit to you herewith the first annual report of the Michigan Historical Commission, covering the period from May 28, 1913 to December 31, 1913.

Very respectfully,
C. M. BURTON, *President*
W. L. JENKS, *Vice-President*
FRANK A. O'BRIEN
EDWIN O. WOOD
LAWTON T. HEMANS
CLAUDE H. VAN TYNE
GEORGE NEWMAN FULLER, Secretary.

April 1, 1914.

Approved.

WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS
Governor.

# Michigan Historical Commission

## INCEPTION OF THE COMMISSION

THE Commission has stated briefly in its Bulletin No. 1 the essentials about the organization, administration and aims of the Department. The causes operating to create the Department may appropriately be here restated. They are partly local and partly general. The latter are in scope almost world-wide. Of these the most striking is the gradual growth of the scientific conception of history. Indeed the history of the changes in the conception of history itself, as reflected in the thinking of succeeding ages, is one of the most instructive chapters in the evolution of world history.

A fundamental series of operations involved in the modern idea of history consists in collecting, preserving, editing and publishing original sources of knowledge. For local history there are, among other sources, the official records in the public depositories of the state, the counties, the townships, the cities and villages. From these records, when they are ready for the use of scholars, the internal history of the state and the nation must be largely rewritten.

To prepare these materials for this use is very properly one of the functions of government, and following the initiative of our national government, prompted by the leaders of the American Historical Association, many states of the Union have established for this purpose Historical Commissions, or Departments of History and Archives.[1] Back of this movement in these states there have invariably been also the leaders in the state historical societies and in the historical departments of the state universities. In Michigan the movement was hastened by Governor Osborn's veto, in 1911, of the appropriation made to carry on the work of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. The leaders of that society thereupon brought to a successful issue the formation of the Michigan Historical Commission.

[1]Among the states now having institutions similar to a Department of History and Archives are notably Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Mississippi, Maine, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia and Wisconsin.

Chief among the local causes of this action was the unsatisfactory relation between the Society and the State government. Almost from the time of the organization of the Society in 1874 the State appropriated to it annually moneys varying from $500 to $4,000, principally for the publication of an annual volume of papers and documents. In due course the Society had a valuable collection in its books, manuscripts and museum, but it remained a private corporation, in the management of whose affairs the State had no voice. The Society was legally free to dispose of its property at any time. This seemed wrong and the Directors of the Society decided that action should be taken to establish the Society as the trustee of the State so far as related to the property acquired by it.

At the next annual meeting of the Society in June 1912, Article I of the Articles of Association was amended as follows:

Article I. "The name of this Association shall be the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and all the property which it has or may acquire by gift, purchase or otherwise, shall be held by the Society in trust for the State of Michigan."

Article VIII of the Articles of Association was amended to read:

"The property, affairs and business of the Society shall be under the general charge and management of a board of eleven trustees, one of whom shall be the Governor of the State of Michigan, ex officio: the others shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Society to hold for two years and until their successors are elected and qualified. At the first election under this amendment, one-half of the number shall be elected for one year and one-half for two years. Five trustees shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting. The Board of Trustees shall have power to appoint a Secretary and a Treasurer to hold office during the pleasure of the Board and with such salary as they may determine."

These resolutions submitted by the Board of Trustees were unanimously adopted by the Society.

Hon. Henry R. Pattengill of Lansing, formerly Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan and for a generation one of the most active workers in the interests of the public schools of the State, had for many years given his services to the Society as Secretary. The work had, however, long since assumed such large proportions that a paid assistant, Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, had for some years been employed by the Society.

After this action was taken the Directors felt that better and more permanent results could be obtained if a State Commission or Department should be established to take over and manage the property interests of the Society, and have a permanent appropria-

tion which would enable the employment of competent assistants and the carrying out of matured plans. A committee was appointed to draft a bill for these purposes.

## LEGISLATIVE HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

From the inception of the idea of a Historical Commission for Michigan, the sympathy of Governor Ferris with the spirit and purpose of the movement and the encouragement given by him through every phase of the legislative history of the bill were of large account in impressing the measure upon the attention of a generous legislature. On February 10, 1913, the measure was introduced in the House by Mr. Dwight G. F. Warner, as House bill No. 327. (House Jour. I. 384.) On April 19 the bill was passed without a dissenting vote, and on motion of Mr. Charles W. Smith was ordered to take immediate effect, (House Jour. II. 1807). On the same day it was transmitted to the Senate, and on April 24 it passed the Senate without a dissenting vote and was ordered to take immediate effect. (Senate Jour II. 2005.) May 8 it received the signature of Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris, and became Public Act No. 271.

Acting in accordance with the provisions establishing the Commission, Governor Ferris at once appointed its members, who met and organized on May 28, 1913.

The meeting was held in the executive chamber in the Capitol at Lansing. There were present the Governor, Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, William L. Jenks of Port Huron, the Right Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo, Edwin O. Wood of Flint, Lawton T. Hemans of Mason, and Claude H. Van Tyne of Ann Arbor.

By unanimous request of the Commission, the Governor, who is by law ex officio a member of the Commission, acted as chairman pro tem.

Professor Van Tyne was made Secretary pro tem.

Clarence M. Burton, President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, was unanimously elected President of the Commission.

William L. Jenks, Vice President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, was unanimously elected Vice President of the Commission.

Dr. George Newman Fuller of the University of Michigan was unanimously elected Secretary of the Commission.

It was voted that a regular meeting of the Commission should be held in the first week of July, and within every three months thereafter.

Mr. Jenks was appointed to prepare the necessary forms for the transfer of the property and effects of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society to the State, and to see to the execution of the same.

Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, then Assistant Secretary of the Pioneer and Historical Society, was unanimously elected Curator of the Museum.

Mr. Jenks and Mr. Wood were appointed a committee on rules, to report at a special meeting to be held June 5, 1913.

## SPECIAL MEETING, JUNE 5, 1913

This meeting was held in the Lieutenant Governor's office in the Capitol at Lansing. There were present Governor Ferris, and Commissioners Burton, Jenks, O'Brien and Wood. Commissioners Hemans and Van Tyne were unavoidably absent in Europe.

The choice of the date was determined by the date of the regular annual meeting of the Pioneer and Historical Society. As the Commissioners present were also members of the Board of Trustees of the Society, the larger part of the available time was spent in session with that Board. The executive work which most needed attention concerned the adjustment of relations between the Society and the Commission, in particular as to the property of the Society. At this session of the Board of Trustees William L. Jenks, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the May meeting of the Commission, presented for consideration the following bill of sale:

"Be it known that the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, a corporation organized under the laws of Michigan, by its President thereof duly authorized does hereby give, grant, sell, and assign to the State of Michigan all the property of every kind, character and description which it now owns or has under its control, giving and granting to the State of Michigan said property to have and to hold forever.

"The purpose of this instrument is to carry out the intent of said Society indicated by resolutions duly passed by its members and in recognition of the fact that the funds with which the said property was acquired were given by the State of Michigan through legislative appropriations over a long period of years, and in recognition of the propriety of the property so acquired being legally vested in the State of Michigan.

"In witness whereof the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has caused these presents to be signed by its President the 5th day of June in the year 1913.

(Signed) C. M. BURTON,
President of the Pioneer and Historical Society."

On motion of Commissioner Frank A. O'Brien, the Society ratified this deed.

In this session of the Commission one of the most important steps taken was the adoption of the by-laws submitted by a committee composed of Commissioners Jenks and Wood.

## MEETING HELD AUGUST 6, 1913

The first regular meeting of the Commission was held in the executive chamber in the Capitol at Lansing August 6, 1913; present, Governor Ferris, and Commissioners Burton, Jenks, O'Brien, Wood and Hemans.

On motion of Mr. Wood it was voted to accept the invitation of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to assist in determining and marking historic sites on the Island and in selecting historic names associated with the Island to give to its paths, drives, vistas, lookouts, etc; and on motion of Commissioner O'Brien a vote of thanks was tendered to the Park Commission for this invitation.

A set of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections was, on motion of Mr. Wood, loaned indefinitely to Mrs. Mina Humphrey Varnum, whose charming writings in the Detroit Saturday Night and elsewhere have done much to foster an interest in the romance of early Michigan history.

It was voted, on motion of Mr. Wood, that the Secretary be instructed to communicate with leading citizens of Jackson relative to securing the cooperation of that city with the State to preserve as a memorial the home of former Governor Blair, and to report upon the same to Governor Ferris.

On the recommendation of Mr. Burton it was ordered that $200 be paid to Mr. W. G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution at Washington to assist in carrying out the cooperative plans of transcribing from the French archives materials relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley during the period of French occupation.

Commissioners Burton, Jenks and O'Brien were made a com-

mittee to pass upon a bulletin submitted by the Secretary relating to the inception, organization and work of the Michigan Historical Commission.

Commissioner Jenks and the Secretary were constituted a committee to pass upon a bulletin submitted by the Secretary relating to the organization and work of local historical societies in Michigan.

## MEETING HELD OCTOBER 7, 1913

On October 7, 1913, the members of the Commission were guests of the Right Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien at his residence in Kalamazoo. The regular October meeting was held on that date at Nazareth Academy in Kalamazoo and at the home of Commissioner O'Brien. Those present besides the host were: Governor Ferris, and Commissioners Burton, Jenks and Wood.

It was voted on motion of Commissioner Wood that all publications distributed by the Commission should be sent to the consignee free of all transportation charges, as provided by law.

On motion of Commissioner O'Brien it was ordered that any publications distributed by the Commission might at the discretion of the Secretary be loaned indefinitely to all libraries contemplated by law which should have less than 500 volumes; provided, that if such libraries cease to exist in connection with the original institution or some institution contemplated by law the volumes shall become State property; provided also, that in loaning single volumes the cost of transportation shall be paid by the consignee; provided also, that the volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections and the volumes of the Michigan Historical Commission be sold at any time to any person at the uniform price of $1 per volume.

A set of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections were presented to St. Mary's University, Baltimore, Maryland, and a set also to the University of Notre Name, Notre Dame, Indiana, in exchange for the publications of those institutions.

It was ordered that a set of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections be loaned indefinitely to the library of any educational institution in Michigan upon request from the proper authority, to become the permanent possession of said library when it shall contain 500 volumes.

The sum of $300 was set aside for the purchase of such cases

and supplies as might be needed to secure a more efficient arrangement of the objects in the museum.

It was ordered that the following committees be appointed: on finance and auditing, on purchasing, on employing, and on publishing.

The Commission approved of appointments made by President Burton to a joint committee relative to Mackinac Island, submitted as follows: Commissioners William L. Jenks and Frank A. O'Brien are this day, September 24, 1913, appointed by me, Clarence M. Burton, as President of the Historical Commission, members of a joint committee of the Historical Commission and the Mackinac Island State Park Commission to serve with Mr. Ira A. Adams of Bellaire and Mr. Edwin O. Wood of Flint appointed by President A. O. Joplin of the latter Commission, to select and recommend names of historical characters connected with the early history of Mackinac Island which should be given to lookouts, roads, drives, streets, paths, vistas, groves, etc., on Mackinac Island.

It was ordered that all suitable duplicates now in the museum at Lansing be forwarded to the contemplated museum on Mackinac Island when that museum shall be ready to receive them.

The reprinting of further volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections was ordered suspended for the present, in order that the work on the new publications of the Commission might be pushed more rapidly.

It was voted that an entire new index, constructed upon the most approved principles of indexing, be made for the 38 volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections as soon as practicable.

Papers read at the meetings of the Pioneer and Historical Society were ordered to be included in a publication to be called "Proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society."

The Commission voted to cooperate with all interested societies of southwestern Michigan and northern Indiana in excavating near the site of old Fort St. Joseph for the recovery of the remains of the missionary Allouez who is supposed to have been buried in that vicinity.

A unanimous vote of thanks was tendered to Commissioner O'Brien and to the Sisters and officers of Nazareth Academy and to the Very Reverend John Cavanaugh, C. S. C. D. D. of the University of Notre Dame, for the very cordial reception and entertainment given to the Michigan Historical Commission.

## PUBLICITY

One of the earliest steps taken by the Commission was to more fully acquaint the people with the Commission's nature and purpose in order to gain their more active cooperation and support. Bulletin No. 1, already mentioned, set forth the inception, organization, administration and aims of the Commission. It printed in full the act establishing that body, also the by-laws. It contained a brief discussion of plans for collecting, housing and publishing historical materials, for the distribution of its publications, for service to the general public through an information bureau, for cooperating with schools, clubs, local societies and societies of a similar nature in other states, and of making the museum of larger usefulness to the people.

An edition of five thousand copies of this Bulletin was printed. A copy was sent to every newspaper and periodical in Michigan, to each State officer and member of the Legislature, to the officers and history teachers of Michigan schools and colleges, to the County Commissioners of Schools, to Michigan granges and public libraries, to historical societies, commissions and libraries of other states and to a large number of individuals and educators at home and abroad.

Before the publication of Bulletin No. 1 there was sent to every newspaper and periodical in Michigan the following circular:

The Michigan Historical Commission wish to be of service to you, and to the public through your paper.

Three obvious means appear: (1) To send to your paper from time to time items of live historical interest gleaned from all parts of Michigan; (2) To stimulate your readers to do the same; (3) To preserve a complete file of your paper in the newspaper department of the Commission, which is collecting one of the most valuable bodies of historical material to be found in the Middle West.

A Bulletin of information about the work of the Commission is being prepared, to be distributed to all interested. If you desire it, kindly notify the Commission on the enclosed card, stating also whether you are willing to insert gratis in your paper once a month during the coming year the following notice:

To the People of Michigan:

The Michigan Historical Commission, established by the last legislature, wish to communicate with every person who has in his or her possession old newspaper files, pamphlets, letters, diaries,

account books, local histories and atlases, museum objects illustrative of Michigan or of Michigan people, anything whatever of value for the history of Michigan. The Commission is composed of Governor W. N. Ferris, Clarence M. Burton, William L. Jenks, Frank A. O'Brien, Edwin O. Wood, Lawton T. Hemans, and Claude H. Van Tyne. Address, The Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, Michigan.

A generous response was received, which was acknowledged by the Commission in the following circular mailed with Bulletin No. 1.

The Historical Commission most highly appreciates the recent generous response of the press to the publicity needs of the Commission. It would be a favor as highly esteemed if as time and space permit, you would feature in your valued publication the brief articles of bulletin No. 1. The items would in this way reach a wide circle of interested readers whom otherwise the Commission could not reach but desires to serve. Your attention is specially requested to page 35 of this bulletin.

It is the desire of the Commission that at least the most prominent newspaper of each county in Michigan shall be received for its files. At present the Commission regularly receives many of the prominent newspapers of the State. In Bulletin No. 1 the Commission has already called attention to the historical importance of this material and emphasized the need of collecting not only contemporary newspapers but even the fugitive sheets of all the important papers and periodicals that have been published from earliest times in Michigan.[5]

## MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The Museum is greatly in need of larger quarters. The present collections if properly displayed would require four times as much space as they occupy now. A catalogue of the Museum is being constructed on plans consonant with methods favored by the American Association of Museums, of which this Museum is a sustaining member.

A large part of the educational value of a museum depends of course upon the nature of the objects in it, and upon the manner in which they are displayed, but a primary desideratum is to get the objects. That is the present problem of the Commission's museum. Bulletin No. 1 (pp. 39-41) has already briefly considered

[5]Bulletin No. 1, pp. 24-25.

its present status, and the forthcoming catalogue will do so in satisfying detail.

The Curator of the museum, Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, reports the following articles added to the museum during the past two years since January 1912:

Snuff Box, owned by Lucy Beals, born Aug. 7, 1798. Presented by her grandaughter, Mrs. Leonora Chamberlain, Hartford, Mich.

Check, drawn on the Michigan Insurance Bank for $188.50 for House expenses. Dated Nov. 1, 1865. Presented by George Clark, Lansing.

Pigeon Net, presented by Miss Emma Wilson, Northport. Used about 1883 by Walter S. Wilson.

Peninsula Railway excursion ticket, and Campaign Hat. From Lansing to Battle Creek, July 4, 1870. Presented by Caleb Smith, Lansing.

Pontiac Weekly Bill Poster, dated Feb. 23, 1876. Account of Oakland County Pioneer Society. Presented by Mrs. D. D. Solis, Pontiac.

Five silver buttons, presented by Miss Sarah L. Burr. Owned in the family since 1838.

Map of Michigan, 1838, presented by Miss Sarah L. Burr.

Mulberry Plate, presented by Mrs. Betsey Webber, Lansing.

Flag, first one carried by women of Lansing, 1849. Presented by the Dewitt Union Daughters of Michigan.

Foot-Warmer, presented by Mrs. Betsey Webber, Lansing.

Bead Bag, belonged to Mrs. Catherine Busler, Centerville, St. Joseph Co., who came to Michigan in 1836. Presented by her daughter, Villetta L. Woods.

Constitution and Discipline of M. E. Church, 1854.

Small Bonnet, Baby's Shirt, Pincushion, Hand Embroidery, Quilt, presented by Mrs. Laura A. Ayers, East Lansing.

Account of Fort Dearborn Massacre by Lieut. Helm, presented by Nelly Kinzie Gordon, Savannas, Ga.

Transactions of the New York Agricultural Society, 1850; presented by Mrs. Mary E. Henry, Albion.

Medical Book, Surgical Instrument, used about 1820; presented by the widow of Dr. Tyler Hull, Dimondale, Mich.

Surgical Instrument, used about 1820. Presented (as above).

Knapsack used in Civil War; presented by Jay See, Dimondale, Mich.

Four Campaign Buttons from Chicago Convention, June 1912; presented by Fred Hadrich, Lansing.

One Bottle and One Jug, presented (as above).

Silk Shoes Side-Laced, made in the family of George Trary. Secured From Mrs. W. H. Dodge, Lansing.

Gloves, made and given by Indians to M. D. Skinner, formerly of Lansing.

Reeds and rattans for skirt, presented by Miss Hattie Nash, Lansing.

Account book, kept by David Scott, DeWitt, Mich. Presented by his grandson, Charles W. Webb, postmaster, DeWitt.

U. S. Flag, presented by Boy Scouts, Greenville, Mich.

"Picturesque Walloon," presented by H. McConnell, Walloon Lake.

Indian Relic, found near lake, Livingston County; presented by R. W. Cooper, Lansing.

Two Pieces from the Charter Oak at Hartford, Conn., and a Piece of Atlantic Cable; presented by A. Warden Palmer, Jr., Grand Rapids.

Virgin Lamp, purchased in Jerusalem and presented by Mrs. Nellie Osband Baldwin, Grand Rapids.

Stays, made by Mrs. Hannah Durfee, aunt of Mrs. Nellie Osband Baldwin.

Silver Teaspoon, presented by Mrs. Loraine Pratt Immen. First used by her mother, Mrs. A. P. Bell.

Silver Tablespoon, made of silver dollars given as wedding present by Julius Bartlett of Connecticut to his daughter Lucretia Baldwin in 1823; presented by Mrs. Nellie Osband Baldwin, Grand Rapids.

Napkin, purchased in Europe and presented by Mrs. Loraine Pratt Immen, Grand Rapids.

Log Cabin Quilt, made by Mrs. Maria Dumont Fisher and given to Mrs. Philo L. Daniels, aunt of Mrs. Mina H. Varnum, who presented it.

Bronze Medal of the Louisiana Centennial, April 30, 1812, presented by Louisiana.

Democratic Free Press, dated May 5, 1831, owned by Charles A. Little, Detroit, presented by Mrs. Elizabeth Child, Lansing.

Chattanooga Daily Rebel, dated June 28, 1863, presented by Daniel E. Soper, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Oaths of Office taken by Members of House of Representatives, 1879, presented by Dr. F. W. Shumway, Lansing.

Tomahawk, found on St. Joseph river about 1893 and presented by Hon. G. W. Schaeffer, Sturgis.

Ear Ring Mold, and Half of Ring, presented as above.

Two Daguerreotypes, presented by Mrs. Adams, Mason.

Saddle-bag, bought in 1780 by John Wilcox, who gave it to his grandson, Amos Wilcox, Pittsford, Hillsdale County. Presented by the latter.

Rubber Fire-Bucket, used in Lansing before organization of fire department, presented by H. H. Larned.

Charcoal Flatiron, presented by Mrs. F. D. Ferle, Lansing.

Seven Pennants, five political badges, presented by Fred Hadrich, Lansing.

Twenty-six Confederate notes, Hair-wreath, made by Mrs. George W. Porter, Portland, Mich. Presented by her daughter-in-law, Mrs. W. E. Porter, Portland.

One block of Crazy-Work Quilt, pieced by Anna Maria Robbins in 1891. Presented by her daughter, Mrs. Laura A. Ayers, East Lansing.

Scrip Fifty Cents, issued by John McDonall at Detroit in May, 1818. Presented by his grandson, H. B. Vaill, Keene, N. H., through C. M. Burton, Detroit.

Indian Skinning Knife, Two Tablets, found in Mecosta County in 1912.

Four Newspapers: Louisville Daily Journal, Oct. 14, 1863; The Salem Whig, Oct 7, 1840; The Salem Weekly Union Advocate, May 10, 1866; The Washington Democrat, April 20, 1865. Presented by Seymour Foster, Lansing.

Common Prayer Book, 1828 and 1850, Concordance New Testament, Picture of The U. S. Steam Frigate Merrimac, presented by Mrs. Bessie Stephenson Bentley.

Double barrel Shot-gun, presented by Gerald Swan, Hastings.

Four bonnets, brass kettle, copper pail, wooden sugar bowl, wine glass, small pitcher, presented by Mrs. Henry Turney.

Black straw bonnet, presented by Mrs. Lovell, Lansing.

Northern Advocate, May 16, 1840, first paper in Flint, then called Flint River, presented by M. W. S. Townsend, Mount Pleasant.

Eaton County Republican for 1861, bound, presented by Major Nesbitt, Big Rapids.

Map of City of Lansing, 1866, presented by Unity Club, Lansing.

Air-castle made of rags, presented by Mrs. M. J. Adams, Mason.

Shoulder-cape, worn by Mrs. Mary Brock, a Quakeress in Norristown, Pa.

Walker's Dictionary, 1817, Philadelphia, presented (as above).

Pair white Cotton Stockings, knitted by Eleanor Connard, about 1865.

Michigan State Journal, May 26, 1859; State Republican, Dec.

13, 1865; presented by Mrs. O. R. Hardy for the E. M. B. Club, Lansing.

Record of Grant Township, 1866, presented by Mrs. George A. Shields, Bay Cty.

Pennant for the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Chattanooga, 1863.

Card of Georgia Monument, Views of Chattanooga, presented by D. E. Soper, Chattanooga, Tenn.

Workbag, razor, brush, whalebone, piece of counterpane, from the family of Luke Phillips; presented by his daughter, Mrs. Philip Ernsberger, Lansing.

Forty-three old books, two pictures, forty-six small photographs, sewing machine and old chest, presented by Mrs. Hall Thayer, Saginaw.

Three certificates, one bond, one program of Legislative Reunion, June 10, 1886, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, Lansing.

Two-dollar wild-cat bill, Bank of Monroe, presented by J. C. Obert, Durand.

Eight pamphlets found in file case; presented by Miss Gertrude Wolcott, Public Domain Office, Lansing.

Hand-wrought nails, from old Fort St Joseph, Niles; presented by W. Hillis Smith, Niles.

Two pennies, presented by Don Hinchman, Lansing.

Two Coins, from Byron Warren, Bay City.

Two books from the Franciscan Monastery, Petoskey, presented through Father Evers.

Indian sweet-grass basket, Indian hatchet, blue and white splint, snake charm, bow and arrow, skull, from Cross Village Indian Cemetery.

Picture of squaw, bottle with wood picture inside, given by Indians of Cross Village.

Methodist Almanac 1856 and 1844, two pamphlets, two small photographs, presented by Mrs. Parmelee Scofield, Lansing.

Boy Scouts' Flag, from Wyandotte, through Rev. R. G. Hershey, Chaplain.

Three pieces pewter, sugar bowl, creamer, teapot, from Mrs. Mary E. Hawley; presented by the Van Winkle Women's Club, Caro, Michigan.

Penny, 1861, from Mr. and Mrs. Bennett, West Branch.

Two nuts, carved from peach stones by Stanley Pixley.

Embroidery, by Mrs. Sarah Scripture Lewis, born in 1804.

Cardboard cross, made by Mrs. Clorinda Taylor in 1870; presented by Mrs. O. Palmer, Grayling, Mich.

Three pictures, given by Dr. and Mrs. Palmer, Grayling.

Portrait of General George A. Custer, given by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Custer.

Letter scales, presented by Judge Joseph B. Moore, Lansing.

State Republican April 19, 1865, containing account of death of Abraham Lincoln. Given by Clinton Leach Chalfant, Springfield, Mo.

Coral basket, presented by Mrs. Juliette Freeman.

Wallet, Hymn Book, Prayer Book, owned by John Helfridge, and given by him to his son John in 1820.

Lace, knit by Mrs. Thayer and given to Mrs. Miller in 1873.

Letter, from Mrs. John Helfridge, written from Old Mission and signed by Helen E. Morrell.

Rate-bill for District No. 3, Peninsula Township, school started in Chandler's barn. Presented by Mrs. S. A. Miller, daughter of John Helfridge.

Picture, group of Eaton County Women's Club, Eaton Rapids.

Twenty-six pamphlets, from T. L. P. Miles, Lansing.

Door-latch, dickie, three posts and headboard of four poster bed, from Hon. L. G. Palmer's home near Napoleon, Mich.

Indian mortar and pestle, surgical instrument, broken pieces of Indian pottery, found under tree in Churchill, Ogemaw County; presented by R. A. Babcock, West Branch.

Hoop-skirt and bustle, presented by Mrs. B. Bennett, West Branch.

One box "Nacht Lichters," book of three maps, leases mineral region.

Lake Superior, autograph letter, from Chief Blackbird, Harbor Springs; presented by Mrs. E. M. Schettler, Muskegon Heights.

Yiddish doll, made by Mrs. Ida D. Menore, a blind woman who gave it to Mrs. Irons, West Branch, for a door stay. Presented by the latter to the Museum.

Sausage Stuffer, Wooden cowbell, given by an Upper Peninsula settler to the wife of Capt. Thomas, father of Calvin Thomas. Mrs. Thomas gave it to Mrs. Marion H. Irons, West Branch, who presented it to Museum.

Side-saddle, brought from the East by the mother of Mrs. Lucy C. Davis, Lansing, and presented by Mrs. Davis.

Tankard, Hood and Dolman, presented by Mrs. F. A. Travis, St. Johns.

Deed to Mr. Allison Jume, of Gratiot County, and Bible, presented as above.

Handkerchief, made by Emily Virginia Mason on Congress Street,

Detroit, in 1839. Presented by her aunt, Mrs. Dorethea Mason Wright, Newark, N. J.

Papers, from Father O'Brien, Mrs. Hopy, Mrs. Geddes, Perry Ostrander, and others. Programs of Women's Clubs and D. A. R. Meetings.

Pewter Candle Stick, presented by Mr. and Mrs. Redfield, Marshall.

Mat, made by Chippewa Indian woman, 1857, and presented by Mrs. Frances E. Burns, St. Louis, and Mrs. A. J. Hughes, Big Rapids.

Piano, used in the home of Governor Blair. Given by Mrs. Blair to Helen, daughter of her oldest son George, and on her death presented by her mother, Mrs. Vienna Blair, Los Angeles, California.

Lumber-wheels, presented by H. M. Loud, Oscoda.

Beaver hat, worn by Governor Austin Blair; presented by Hon. Frank E. Dodge, Lansing.

Seal of Michigan, made of corn by Ralph Oversmith, aged 14, and flag made of corn by Frances Fitzgerald, aged 12, grammar school pupils of Miss Gertrude Cartwright of Brooklyn, Jackson County, Mich.

The following loans to the Museum were made during the same period:

Picture, made of cork by Mrs. Moots, loaned by her grandaughter, Miss Helen Brown, Lansing.

Sash and picture, young ladies taking part in parade July 4, 1873, Lansing, loaned by M. Helen Simons.

Fish spear, owned and used by Horace W. Reynolds, Clinton County; loaned by his son, W. R. Reynolds, Lansing.

Copper spear point, eight inches long. Picked up on a farm at Jordan Lake, Ionia County, by Jerry Preston.

Two volumes by Dr. Gill, Commentaries on the Old and New Testament. Loaned by Mrs. J. Cummins, Leslie.

Manual, Hon. DeWitt C. Leach, U. S. Congress 1860-1. Loaned by Clinton Leach Chalfant, Springfield, Mo.

Slung-Shot, used by Indian women.

Reading-Desk, from first Indian mission, Cross Village.

Book of Indian Accounts, loaned by Mrs. M. E. Schettler, Muskegon Heights.

Two large gilt frame pier glasses, having marble shelves inscribed, "To Mrs. Gov. Blair from the officers of the tenth and eleventh cavalry." Loaned by Mrs. Charles Blair, Lansing.

## HISTORICAL PICTURES AND PORTRAITS

A historical portrait gallery is a worthy conception, well fitted to stimulate the pride of the people in their State and in the achievements of its leaders. All ages furnish examples of the honor paid to it, from the Parthenon of the Greeks to the Louvre and Westminster Abbey of today. In the old Northwest, Michigan has been a center of the best ideals of this section of our country. It can not be long before Michigan must build larger quarters for the rapidly growing work at the State Capitol, and in view of securing at that time a suitable room for a historical portrait gallery every possible effort will be made to obtain portraits of the men and women who have been prominent among the makers of Michigan.

Through the generosity of patriotic citizens the following historical pictures and portraits have been presented to the Commission and are now in display in the Museum:

General Andrew Jackson, engraving, 8 x 12; presented by Mr. and Mrs. De Camp, Ovid, Michigan.

Thomas D. Gilbert, photograph, 8 x 12, from Grand Rapids.

Centennial photograph, two sections, twenty-four pictures each.

Centennial photographs, four sections, containing 8 x 12 spaces.

Centennial photographs, two sections containing forty-eight pictures.

Centennial photographs of Territorial Judges, ten spaces, six pictures.

Centennial photographs of Territorial Delegates, seven portraits, 24 x 32.

Metropolitan Gallery, one hundred portraits, 22 x 25.

Faculty of University of Michigan, nine portraits.

Faculty of University of Michigan, five portraits.

World's Fair Board, Chicago, 1893.

United States Commissioners, 1891-1894.

Supreme Court and Lansing business men of 1893, forty-one portraits, 30 x 45.

Michigan United States judges, nine portraits, 10 x 12.

Methodist ministers.

Michigan governors (nineteen) and Capitol.

Group of pioneer pictures.

Three group pictures of Legislatures.

## OIL PORTRAITS

Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, painted by Mrs. Stone's daughter-in-law. 26 x 28. Presented by D. A. R.'s and Ladies Literary Club of Kalamazoo, through Mrs. Mary M. Hopt.

Jonathan Shearer, President Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, 1876-77. 20x22.

Mother Rod, prominent Indian woman of Sarnia, presented by Mr. Harrington of Port Huron.

Isaac E. Crary, presented by Mrs. Belona Crary Frink, Marshall, Michigan, through Judge Patterson Marshall.

William A. Burt, inventor of the solar compass. Presented by his sons.

Okemos, portrait painted by Stanley of Detroit. Presented by C. M. Burton.

Captain Marsac, pioneer of Bay City. Portrait purchased for $50. 45 x 60.

William Woodruff Gibbs, Artist, presented by Macomb County citizens through George H. Cannon, Washington, Michigan.

## PHOTOGRAPHS.

Governor John S. Horner, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Burling, Ripon, Wisconsin.

Peter White, presented by his son-in-law, Mr. A. O. Jopling, Marquette, through Hon. Charles R. McCabe, Marquette, Mich.

Hon. Joseph Greusel, presented by his children.

Arthur Hill, presented by his wife.

Judge and Mrs Tenny, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, State Librarian.

Emily Ward, Detroit, Michigan, presented by the Women's Club, Marine City, through Mrs. George Jones.

Mr. and Mrs. Elder, presented by their daughter, Mrs. Perry, Lansing.

Mr. Bliss of Blissfield.

T. T. Lyon, presented by Mr. Murray.

E. O. Haven, LL. D., former President of University of Michigan, presented as above.

F. H. Rankin, presented as above.

C. I. Walker, presented as above.

John D. Pierce, Marshall, Michigan, first Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan, presented as above.

Governor William Woodbridge, presented by Major H. E. Johnson.

Capitol, Lansing, architect's drawing presented by Hon. D. E. Heineman, Detroit.

Governor W. N. Ferris, purchased by Mrs. Ferrey.

Mrs. Mary Stillman's sister, Mason, Michigan.

General George E. Custer, presented by Mrs. Custer.

Governor Austin Blair, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer.

Henry E. Tappan, President of the University of Michigan, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer.

Mr. and Mrs. Elder, presented by her daughter, Amy Perry. Lansing.

Samuel Rowe, presented by J. V. Barry, Lansing.

Joel Carpenter, Blissfield pioneer.

Nun, unidentified.

Three Lenawee County soldiers, 1861-1864.

Daguerreotypes, paneled; sixteen small pictures from Adrian.

Washington and his Cabinet.

Harry E. Conant, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer.

E. Lakin Brown, of Schoolcraft.

Abraham Lincoln.

Lewis Cass.

Okemos, ambrotype; presented by O. A. Jenison, Lansing.

Ezra Baldwin Taylor, silhoutte, full length, presented by Mrs. Mary C. Spencer.

Judge Babbit, presented by Mrs. Florence S. Babbitt.

John M. Longyear, presented by his wife, Lansing, Michigan.

John D. Pierce.

Governor Josiah Begole, presented by his wife, Flint, Michigan.

Governor Crapo, presented by his son-in-law, Dr. Willson, Flint.

William Milham.

William H. Taft, William McKinley, presented by Hon. William Alden Smith.

George Washington, presented by Henry Chamberlain, Three Oaks.

John W. Dewey of Owosso, Michigan, presented by himself.

Judge Charles Long, presented by A. C. Chapin, Lansing.

Governor A. T. Bliss, presented by his wife, Saginaw, Michigan.

Stephen A. Douglas, presented by Lucy Cowles, Lansing.

A. B. Gardner, of Albion, Michigan, presented by his daughter, Mrs. Gale, Albion.

Rt. Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo.

M. D. Osband, of Hillsdale.

The Governor Mason Statue at Detroit, presented by Hon. Daniel McCoy, Grand Rapids.

Henry A. Tappan, plaster medallion, presented by University of Michigan.

Governor John J. Bagley, bust.

Henry Dexter, bust.

## MAPS

The value, for historical purposes, of the early maps of any territory is now acknowledged to be very great, and the Commission has begun the collection of maps to illustrate the history of the Great Lakes Region, with a view of obtaining a complete line of the characteristic French, English, Dutch, German and Italian maps, so as to display the gradual increase of knowledge of this region down to 1800.

It has already in its possession the following maps of this section of the new world.

1635. Blaeu, Willem J. Americae Nova Tabula. A good example of the Dutch maps of this period, showing both North and South America, but not indicating any knowledge of the Great Lakes.

1642. Jansson, Jan. American Septentrionalis. The map is from the same plate as a map of the same title issued in 1839, by Hondius. the brother-in-law of Jansson.

1670. DuVal, Pierre. Le Canada faict par le Sr. De Champlain suivant les Memoires de P. Du Val Geographe du Roy. Undated, but about 1760. Very rare map; the plate was reissued several times, first probably in 1653. This copy contains a reference to the route taken in 1665 to go to Japan and China. The configurations of the Lakes are very curious.

1680. Berry, William. North America divided into its principal parts. The largest and most authentic English map of North America published up to this date. It is based largely on Sanson's map.

1685. Daniel R. A map of ye English Empire in ye Continent of America. A very rare map; the earliest English map to show three of the Great Lakes, Ontarius, Hurons and Erius or Felis.

1649. Jaillot, H. Amerique. An interesting map following Sanson in the configuration of the Lakes.

1695. Morden, Robert. A new map of the English Empire in America. A copy of the first issue of this map, which shows the Lakes approximately in their proper positions.

1710. Senex, John. North America. A large fine colored map extending beyond the Mississippi.

1718. DeFer, Nicolas. Carte de la Nouvelle France. While this rare map is unsigned and undated, it is undoubtedly a reduced copy of a larger map issued in 1718, by DeFer. The Lakes are more fully detailed than in any other map up to this date.

1719. Defer, Nicolas. Carte tres curieuse de la Mer du Sud. This beautiful map is a reduced copy made for Chatelain's Atlas of 1719, from a large map published by DeFer in 1713. Many very fine engraved inserts represent cities, Indians, animals, etc.

1720. Moll, Herman. A new map of the North parts of America. This map shows all the lakes on a larger scale. In the upper right hand corner is a view of the Indian fort Sasquesahannock.

1720. Homan, J. B. Amplissimae Regionis Mississipi. An interesting map showing the lakes on a good scale, with Hennepin's route marked by a dotted line.

1746. d'Anville. Amerique Septentrionalis. Usually considered the best French map up to this date of the whole of North America.

1753. Vaugondy, Robert de. Carte des Pays connus sous le nom de Canada. A well detailed map on a large scale.

1755. d'Anville, J. B. Canada, Louisane et Terres Angloises. A fine map on much larger scale than the map of 1746.

1775. Mitchell, John. A map of the British and French Dominions in North America. A copy of the first issue of this important map, the largest and most authentic of North America down to this date. It was issued under official sanction and was the map chiefly relied on by the Commissioners in making the Treaty of Peace in 1783 between Great Britain and the United States.

1755. Jefferys, Thomas. North America. An important map based on d'Anville, contains several columns of descriptive text entitled "English title to their Settlements." This is a copy of the first impression of this map which was reissued several times.

1766. Kitchin, Thomas. A new and accurate map of the British Dominions in America.

1783. Pownall, Thomas. A new map of North America.

1790. Blair, John. A map of North America.

1794. Laurie and Whittle. A new and general map of the Middle Dominions belonging to the United States of America.

1802. Bruyeres, R. H. Sketch of the North Shore Contiguous to the Falls of St. Mary.

1831. Burr, David H. Michigan.

1834. Wightman, J. A new Emigrant's map of Michigan with a part of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

1835. Farmer, John. An improved edition of a map of the surveyed part of the Territory of Michigan. In the collection are also Farmer maps of Michigan and Wisconsin, 1835, Michigan 1836, 1852, 1854, 1864.

1836. Young, J. H. The Tourists Pocket Map of Michigan.

18? Houghton, Douglass. Maps of Lenawee, Jackson and Washtenaw Counties. These are three of the County Maps prepared under the direction of the first State Geologist.

1846. Hubbard, Bela. Map of the western counties of Michigan.

1848. McCracken, T. Map of the Town of Michigan in the County of Ingham.

1859. Geil & Jones. Genesee and Shiawassee Counties.

1859. Macomb and St. Clair Counties.

(The above list of maps was prepared by William L. Jenks.)

## PUBLICATIONS

In the preface to Bulletin No. 1 it was suggested that there be published a descriptive catalogue of the Museum of the Commission, the proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and reports of cooperative activities with other state organizations of a similar nature; a constitution and by-laws for local historical societies in Michigan, suggestions to local societies regarding methods of work, and reports and papers contributed by local societies; a preliminary bibliography of materials for Michigan history, a calendar of unpublished materials in the public and private libraries of Michigan, and a calendar of Michigan state and local archives; also suggestions to writers of local history in Michigan, and topics, references and suggestions for the study and teaching of Michigan history, including Indian legends and pioneer life, with references to material for English exercises and story telling.

Of these the Commission has thus far published Bulletin No. 2, "Suggestions for Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan," in an edition of 5,000 copies. The volume of "Proceedings of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society" is now in press. The edition of the present "Annual Report of the Michigan Historical

Commission" was 1,000 copies. A calendar of the Askin, Schoolcraft and other Papers is now in preparation. Volume XXI of the reprints of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections is now ready for distribution and Volume XXII will soon be in press.

It was voted at the last meeting of the Commission that further work on the reprints be suspended for the present in order to make way for work on original publications. One of the most important of the proposed new publications is a new index of the entire 38 volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, to be constructed from the viewpoint especially of the historian, the economist, the sociologist and the scientist.

Other items of work to be undertaken in the near future are a preliminary bibliography of materials for Michigan history and a calendar of unpublished materials in the public and private libraries of the State.

A prospect to which the Commission is hopefully looking forward is the publication of official documents from the State and local archives. Few writers on Michigan history, especially outside of the State, can readily have access to this original material. The publication of it is therefore felt to be a pressing need. In this series there will probably be published the messages of Michigan governors.

It has been contemplated for some time to issue a complete translation of the Margry papers, which were collected by Pierre Margry and published through the assistance of the U. S. Congress. This has been delayed, in consequence of the thorough examination being made of the French Archives under the direction of Mr. W. G. Leland of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. This examination has now been completed, and the papers may be consulted at the office of the Commission.

The conditions upon which the publications of the Commission are distributed, exchanged or sold, are set forth in Section 7 of the act establishing the Commission. The statutory requirement that a library contain 500 volumes in order to receive these publications is disappointing to many vigorous but small communities especially in the northern part of the State. In view of this the Commission has provided that loans may be made at the discretion of the Secretary on receipt of request from the authorities in charge of any local library contemplated by the law. This enables every school, grange and public library in Michigan to have all of the practical benefits to be derived from these volumes.

Relative to public school libraries a circular letter was sent recently to every County School Commissioner in the State calling

attention to the shipment of volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections sent to the schools in each of a number of districts indicated and asking for the names of the present teachers in these schools so that the Commission might correspond directly with them regarding the condition of their sets. The purpose of the Commission is to fill out the incomplete sets where these volumes are of real value, and to supply new sets to such schools as the School Commissioners should deem eligible.

The cordial response of the School Commissioners enabled the Historical Commission to get into direct relations with the teachers in the schools, and a circular was then addressed to each teacher asking for:

1. Total number of volumes in the school library exclusive of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections;
2. Number of volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections with volume number of each volume;
3. The condition of these volumes, with specific statement as to any damage to any volume;
4. Desire to have set completed.

A prompt response from the teachers is anticipated. The Commission desires to assure the school commissioners and teachers of its hearty appreciation of their cooperation in this work.

To 250 secretaries of the larger granges of Michigan a circular was sent some months ago asking:

First, how large is your grange?

Second, does your grange possess a set of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections?

Third, is the character of these volumes well known in your community?

Fourth, could your grange use to advantage a set of these volumes?

Up to the present time only one reply has been received.

## INFORMATION BUREAU

In response to the invitation extended in Bulletin No. 1 to all persons desiring information on questions of Michigan history, numerous letters have been received and answered by the Commission. It was anticipated that this one activity would require a large share of the Commission's attention, and the experience of the past few months shows that if the answers were made as full and explicit as the Commission desires, the function would consume entirely the time of at least one assistant. Undoubtedly this phase of the work is one of most vital concern to all interested in

the history of Michigan, and the Commission is hopeful of such an increase in its appropriation as will make possible the employing of this very much needed assistance.

## COUNTY SOCIETIES

The Commission has sought to learn the present condition and past achievements of every local historical society in the State. It desires to strengthen the work of the older societies and to organize new societies in counties which up to this time have been without them. Very early in its work it sent to the secretary of each society a personal request for information. In substance this request was repeated as follows on an enclosure in Bulletin No. 1.:

To Local Historical Societies in Michigan:

We beg leave to call attention to a forthcoming bulletin on the local historical societies of Michigan.:

The bulletin will go to all of the county societies of Michigan and to all of the important state societies in the United States and Canada.

There could scarcely be a more far-reaching notice of your county, nor a more pleasing association for the person or persons who should merit such attention by furnishing the material to the State Historical Commission.

Will you kindly give this notice the utmost publicity, in order that your county society may appear to its very best advantage in the bulletin.

In some replies to this circular there has been scarcely enough information to indicate a live interest in the local work. Other replies show a very energetic and promising spirit.

Typical of the local historical societies organized under the auspices of the Commission is that at Flint, Michigan, which was organized December 3, 1913. It began with nearly a hundred members comprising leaders of thought in Flint and in Genesee county. The Board of Education provided generously for its accommodation, setting apart a separate room in the Flint Public Library to be used as a history room and museum. The impulse and sustaining power which was given to this work by the Flint Daily Journal is a model of that patriotic press support which the Commission is assured it will meet with throughout the State.

To aid the work of local societies 5,000 copies of Bulletin No. 2 have been printed for wide distribution among the workers in the local fields. The bulletin bears the title, "Suggestions to Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan," and contains, be-

sides materials for the constitution and by-laws of the local historical society, hints for practical work—namely, methods of arousing and directing popular interest in collecting historical materials, means of interesting the club, the lodge, the school, the public library, the church, and the press as allies of the society, together with counsel to writers of local history.

## LIBRARIES AND SCHOOLS

A special effort is being made to meet the desire shown by the public libraries to cooperate in the work of the Commission and of the local societies. As far as possible the libraries have been supplied with sets of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections for their reference rooms. The larger libraries will upon request, be presented with sets for their circulating department. The problem of popularizing these volumes is a large one, and solutions are being actively sought and applied.

Among the special means of increasing the use of the volumes, and of bringing the historical work of the libraries into closer relation with the schools and the people, is the equipping of a special room in the library as a history room and local museum. For the purpose of bringing this to the attention of librarians, a circular was sent out to all public libraries in Michigan, inquiring about the possibility of having a room set aside for these purposes and urging the many advantages.

The Commission desires to aid in every possible way the historical work of the teachers and students in the schools and colleges of the State. As already said, earnest efforts are being made to increase the use of the volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, sets of which are being placed in every school that asks for them. A syllabus is contemplated, for use in schools and libraries, containing a chronological list of vital topics on the social, political, economic, industrial, educational, literary and humanitarian phases of Michigan history, with specific page references to these volumes. Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, Curator of the Museum has been very active in bringing to the grade pupils, as well as to the High Schools, increased interest in the history of the State. The Secretary presented the plans and purposes of the Commission to the State Teachers' Association at Ann Arbor, and arrangements are being made for effective work at the meeting of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club. Not only history teachers, but every teacher

in Michigan schools, should have a vital interest in knowing the history of that environment in which the majority of the school children are destined to assume the responsibilities of citizenship.

## CLUBS AND LOCAL SOCIETIES

For stimulating interest in local history, very potent are the local clubs and societies. The womens' clubs and patriotic societies are strong influences in promoting the study of local history, in determining and properly honoring the old landmarks, and in assisting to celebrate the anniversaries of historic events. Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, as chairman of the History Committee of the Federation of Womens' Clubs in Michigan, has done excellent work along this line. Following is the Curator's report of visits to schools, clubs and local societies:

June 8, 1913, meeting of St. Helens Community Club, of Roscommon County, with members of West Branch Club as guests.

June 10, 1913, meeting of Ingham County Pioneer Society in Senate Chamber, Lansing.

June 14, 1913, meeting of Clinton County Pioneer Society, at Court House, St. Johns.

August 7, 1913, meeting of Library section of the Bay View Assembly at Bay View.

August 19, 1913, meeting of Eaton County Pioneer Society at Charlotte.

Sept. 16, 1913, meeting of Women's Club at Holt.

Sept. 10, 1913, visit to West Branch, Ogemaw County.

Sept. 11, 1913, meeting of Women's Congress at Roscommon.

Sept. 12, 1913, visit to Grayling, speaking to school.

Sept. 25, 1913, quilting by Lansing D. A. R.'s in Governor's parlor.

October 8, 1913, visit to Lawton, speaking to school.

October 9, 1913, visit to Paw Paw, speaking to school.

October 18, 1913, visit to Napoleon, speaking to Farmers' club and schools.

October 21, 1913, meeting of Michigan State Federation of Women's clubs at Muskegon.

November 3, 1913, visit to Big Rapids, speaking to Ferris Institute students, then to County Normal and to Kindergartners.

November 5, 1913, visit to St. Johns, speaking to four grades in high school and to the Normal.

November 5, 1913, visit to Greenville, speaking to schools and club.

November 18, 1913, visit to Sunfield, speaking to grade school and primary, also to the Sunfield club.

December 3, 1913, meeting of D. A. R. at Marshall.

December 4, 1913, visit to Galesburg to secure relics.

December 19, 1913, Farmers' institute at Wolverine, Cheboygan County.

## COOPERATION WITH THE MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK COMMISSION

The Mackinac Island State Park Commission has undertaken the construction of a new and detailed map of Mackinac Island, for which an entire new survey has been made. Upon this map there will be shown all of the important historic sites, drives, paths, groves, vistas, lookouts, caves, springs and other points of natural beauty.

To obtain suitable names for these places the service of the Historical Commission was solicited. A joint committee was appointed consisting of Commissioners Jenks and O'Brien for the Historical Commission, and for the Park Commission, Hon. Ira A. Adams and Hon. Edwin O. Wood. A visit was made to the Island, in the summer of 1913, by the members of this committee, when it was agreed that the names selected should, in the main, commemorate the Indian tribes and the explorers, missionaries, soldiers and civilians connected with the Island's early history. Plans were considered for establishing a museum on the Island, which should illustrate its historic growth and development. For this purpose all appropriate duplicates at the State Museum will be sent, in due course to the Mackinac Island Museum.

The historic importance of the Mackinac region in the early history of Michigan, and its present far-reaching fame as a summer resort justifies the most energetic work of both commissions in properly preserving the history of its past, and improving the great possibilities it affords at present as the rarest gem of natural beauty in our northern lakes.

## VISIT TO NAZARETH ACADEMY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME.

On the occasion of the regular October meeting, the Commission was entertained at the home of Monsignor O'Brien in Kalamazoo. The visit to Nazareth Academy, of which Monsignor O'Brien is Dean, was keenly enjoyed. The modern sanitary halls and recitation rooms of the Academy were found to be models in artistic appointment and ample equipment.

A very enjoyable program was given by the girls and boys of the Academy. To their addresses of welcome, characterized by courtesy, intelligence and patriotism, Governor Ferris responded, drawing upon his boyhood experiences to impress his "gospel of work." The spirit of hospitality shown by our colleague, and by the officers and Sisters of the Academy, was most highly appreciated.

The cordial invitation of the Very Rev. John Cavanaugh, C. S. C. D. D., to visit the historic collections in the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, was accepted, and the Commission spent there a most profitable day in the library and Museum, and among the historic art treasures of this most noted institution of its kind in the Middle West. To an audience of a thousand students Governor Ferris again presented his "gospel of work," and extended to the students and professors a most hearty invitation to visit the educational institutions of Michigan and see how this gospel was there practiced.

Neighboring historic sites were visited, including that of Old Fort St. Joseph in southwestern Michigan, near Niles, and the site of the supposed burial place of the missionary Allouez. The Commission voted to cooperate with all local societies of that region to excavate for relics of that period.

It is believed that these visits may result in fruitful cooperation in the interest of the history of Michigan.

## PERRY'S VICTORY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

Michigan was officially represented at the Perry's Victory Centennial Celebration, September 11-13, by Governor Ferris, the Michigan Memorial and Centennial Commission, and the Secretary of the Historical Commission.

The strategic import of Perry's victory on Lake Erie was vital for the American occupation of the old Northwest, enabling Harrison to free Detroit, to invade Canada and to bring the war in the west practically to an end at the battle of the Thames. The celebration, however, of the one hundredth anniversary of that event, centralized at Put-in-Bay, had as its chief significance, the official recognition of the century of peace ensuing between the United States and Great Britain. To aid in promoting a suitable celebration and memorial, the Michigan legislature appropriated the sum of $30,000.

The program was largely one of peace. Governor Ferris delivered an address on "Lewis Cass, Michigan's Hero in the War of 1812."

Cass was essentially a man of peace, whose constructive work as Governor of Michigan during nearly two decades following the War of 1812, laid broad and deep the foundations of Michigan's growth as an agricultural commonwealth.

A valuable collection of material was made, relative to the inception, organization and execution of Michigan's part in the celebration. A paper on this subject was read at the last meeting of the Pioneer and Historical Society, and will be published in the Proceedings.

## COOPERATION WITH THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The great importance of calendaring and transcribing materials in foreign archives relating to American history is unquestioned; the problem is to achieve this task with the least waste of time, energy and money.

Since 1907, the American Historical Association has been active in securing a solution of this problem, and the most promising suggestion of that body is, that it might be done by groups of states having historical interests in common. Such a group, for example, is that lying in the old French province of the Mississippi valley, which properly includes Michigan. Michigan is one of a number of states in that group which are now contributing to a fund to be disbursed for the above purpose, by a committee of the American Historical Association on "Cooperation Among Historical Societies." The obligation of $200 made some time ago by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, has been assumed and paid by this Commission. The work in the French archives is being done by Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C.

## CRITICISM AND APPRECIATION

It is with a deep sense of gratitude, that the Commission looks back over its first few months of work, and reviews the many marks of approbation it has received from the people and the press of Michigan. This work has necessarily been that of planning and organizing, of making known its plans, and of soliciting the cooperation of other historical agencies at home and abroad. The

high ground which the Commission has now reached affords an outlook that is bright with promise.

A large debt is due to the experience of Historical Societies and Commissions of other states. Our special thanks are due to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and to the Departments of Archives and History in the states of Alabama and Mississippi.

At the very beginning of our work the Commission was counselled by the wise experience of our late lamented friend, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who was personally present at the first meeting of the Commission after its organization.

For counsel and encouragement the Commission is under great obligations to Victor H. Paltsits, chairman of the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association; to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution, to Worthington C. Ford of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and to faculty members of the Department of History in the University of Michigan.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Total amount of appropriation available to Jan. 1, 1914 $2,500 00

EXPENDITURE FROM APPROPRIATION

### Salaries

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| July 15, 1913 | $157 68 | |
| July 31, 1913 | 168 12 | |
| August 15, 1913 | 157 68 | |
| August 31, 1913 | 168 12 | |
| September 30, 1913 | 282 75 | |
| October 15, 1913 | 146 74 | |
| October 31, 1913 | 156 48 | |
| November 15, 1913 | 146 74 | |
| November 30, 1913 | 146 86 | |
| December 15, 1913 | 146 74 | |
| December 31, 1913 | 157 52 | |
| | | $1,835 43 |

Traveling expenses (Commission)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. A. O'Brien, August 6, 1913 | $7 11 | |
| Hon. W. L. Jenks, August 6, 1913 | 5 02 | |
| Hon. W. L. Jenks, October 7 and 8 | 7 25 | |
| | | $19 38 |

Traveling expenses (Secretary)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ann Arbor, Detroit, and Port Huron, Meeting of St. Clair County Pioneer Society, August 28, 1913 | $13 52 | |
| Perry Centennial Celebration, Putin Bay, Ohio, September 25, 1913 | 16 10 | |
| Kalamazoo and Notre Dame, Commission meeting, October 6, 1913 | 6 61 | |
| Ann Arbor, State Teachers' Association, October 30, 1913 | 10 24 | |
| Flint, Port Huron, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Conferences, November 21, 1913 | $14 48 | |
| Flint, Organization of Flint Historical Society, December 3, 1913 | 2 83 | |
| | | $63 78 |

Traveling expenses (Curator of the Museum)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Mrs. M. B. Ferrey, various addresses August 7, to December 19, 1913 | $71 85 | 71 85 |

Office Supplies

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| One filing cabinet, July 1, 1913 | $36 75 | |
| Pictures framed for office and museum, November 17, 1913 | 1 20 | |
| | | 37 95 |

Telephone

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| June 30-July 9, 1913 | $4 90 | |
| November 15, 1913 | 65 | |
| | | 5 55 |

Museum

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sustaining membership and publications to American Association of Museums, September 29, 1913 | $10 54 | |
| Express on relics to museum, October 2 to November 20 | 1 35 | |
| Transferring piano from Blair home in Jackson to Capitol, Lansing, October 24, 1913 | 6 62 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Transferring lumber wheels from Au Sable to Lansing, November 17, 1913 | $16 80 | |
| Cases for the museum | 300 00 | |
| | | $335 31 |
| American Historical Association, calendaring and transcribing documents, Sept. 1, 1913 | $200 00 | |
| | | 200 00 |
| Total expenditure from appropriation to January 1, 1914 | | $2,569 25 |

As will be seen from the above, notwithstanding the strictest economy we begin 1914 in debt. We have endeavored to curtail expenses in every way possible, even in a way uncomplimentary to the state. For instance, we have not sent one of our members as a delegate to the meeting of the American Historical Association.

No purchases of rare books or manuscripts have been made.

The balance of the price of some rare maps which were ordered abroad, will be paid from the private funds of the President of the Commission.

In justice to our Commission, and to do properly what the state would expect of us, we must have a larger appropriation.

We feel that we can "make good," and be of immense value to the state and to posterity, but we must have the funds.

None of the Commissioners receive a penny of remuneration for services rendered. They are devoting their time and talent for the good of the cause. We believe you will agree with them that sufficient means should be at their disposal to maintain the honor and credit of this great state.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PONTIAC MID-WINTER MEETING, February 21, 22, 1912
ANNUAL MEETING at LANSING, June 5, 6, 1912
GRAND RAPIDS MID-WINTER MEETING, January 30, 31, 1913
ANNUAL MEETING at LANSING, June 4, 5, 1913
PORT HURON MID-WINTER MEETING, February 5, 6, 1914
ANNUAL MEETING at LANSING, June 9, 10, 1914

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## PONTIAC MIDWINTER MEETING, FEBRUARY 21-22, 1912

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its midwinter meeting of 1912 in the assembly room of the court house at Pontiac on February 21 and 22. The success of this meeting was greatly interfered with by bad weather which prevented several speakers from reaching Pontiac. A number of members of the Oakland County Pioneer Society gathered at the court house on the morning of February 21, and in the absence of President Burton the meeting was called to order at 11 o'clock by Joseph Greusel of Detroit. Junius E. Beal of Ann Arbor was chosen temporary secretary. The program planned for the afternoon could be carried out only in part. The invocation was given by the Rev. R. M. Traver; words of welcome were spoken by Judge J. S. Stockwell, acting President of the Oakland County Pioneer Society. Major R. J. Lounsbury also extended greetings on behalf of the city of Pontiac. Chairman Beal then introduced Secretary Henry R. Pattengill of Lansing who responded in behalf of the State Society. Harry Quale sang a number of Irish songs and James H. Lynch talked informally on the Irish pioneers of Oakland County, dwelling especially upon the three typical Irish communities of the county—the Covenanters of Southfield, the Presbyterians of Royal Oak and the Roman Catholic settlement at White Lake.

The features of the evening program were addresses by Hon. Junius E. Beal of Ann Arbor, the Very Rev. Dean O'Brien of Kalamazoo, and Mrs. Arthur M. Parker, State Regent of the Michigan Daughters of the American Revolution. No reports of these addresses were preserved.

A business session of the local society was held Thursday forenoon when all officers were reelected and the name of the society was changed to Oakland County Pioneer and Historical Society to correspond with that of the State organization. A luncheon was served at noon by the ladies of the county society at which about three hundred people were served. In the absence of the scheduled

speakers the closing session of Thursday afternoon was given up to an extemporaneous program and a social good time including music and pioneer reminiscences.

## ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 5-6, 1912

The annual meeting of 1912 was held in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol in Lansing on June 5 and 6. The opening session convened at 2 o'clock Wednesday afternoon, and following the invocation by Rev. O. J. Price of Lansing, reports were made by the Secretary, Mr. H. R. Pattengill and the Treasurer, Mr. B. F. Davis.

Mr. Pattengill emphasized the need of greater efforts on the part of the local societies to preserve local historical material. He expressed in behalf of the State Society appreciation of the action of the State Board of Auditors in coming to the aid of the Society in the recent crisis due to Governor Osborn's veto of the annual appropriation.

The report of Treasurer B. F. Davis showed a balance on hand of $11.94.

Mr. D. P. Van Winkle of Howell gave a sketch of the lives of Albert and William Tooley, pioneers of that city.

Two papers which were to have been read, one by Right Rev. F. A. O'Brien on the life of Father F. X. Pierz and one by A. H. McMillan, entitled "An Indian Skirmish at Detroit in 1814," were postponed to be read later in the program owing to the absence of the speakers. In their place reminiscences were given by "Uncle Dan" Mevis of Lansing and other aged pioneers, and reports from local pioneer societies were given by representatives present.

In the evening, humor and pathos mingled in the addresses given by Edgar Guest of Detroit and Claude R. Buchanan of Grand Rapids. Mr. Guest of the *Detroit Free Press* took as his subject "Humor, the Safety Valve," reading many of his poems, which were characterized by the delightful vein of humor and a virile philosophy of the every day life of all the people. Mr. Buchanan's address paid tribute to his mother, Mrs. Sophia Bingham Buchanan, who came to Michigan in the 30's and died in Grand Rapids in 1910.

Thursday morning was occupied by a meeting of the Board of Trustees in preparation for action by the Society in the afternoon session towards steps to put the Society in such relations with the State as to avoid a recurrence of such a financial crisis as it met in 1911 by the veto of the appropriation.

On motion of Rev. O'Brien, Articles I and II of the Articles of Association were amended as follows:

Article I. The name of this association shall be the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and all the property which it has or may acquire by gift, purchase or otherwise, shall be held by the Society in trust for the State of Michigan.

Article II. The officers shall be a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Secretary and a Treasurer, of whom the President and Vice President shall be elected by the Trustees from their own number to serve until their successors are elected and qualified; the Secretary and Treasurer shall be appointed by the Board of Trustees.

It was moved by Mr. Bement and carried that Article VIII of the Articles of Association be amended as follows:

The property affairs and business of the Society shall be under the general charge and management of a Board of eleven Trustees, one of whom shall be the Governor of the State of Michigan, ex officio; the others shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Society to hold for two years and until their successors are elected and qualified. At the first election under this amendment, one-half of the number shall be elected for one year and one-half for two years. Five trustees shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at any meeting. The Board of Trustees shall have power to appoint a Secretary and Treasurer to hold office during their pleasure and with such salary as they may determine.

These steps were intended to make the Society in effect a State department, thus insuring State support and preserving the organization. The need of turning the responsibility and work of the Society over to the State was the more urgent because of the large proportions to which the work had grown and the great importance of rapidly collecting the materials for the State's history before they should be irretrievably lost.

The resolutions submitted by the Board were unanimously adopted by the Society, Thursday afternoon.

The following appointments of officers by the new Board of Trustees was announced: President, C. M. Burton; Vice Presidents, W. L. Jenks and C. E. Bement; Treasurer, B. F. Davis; Assistant Secretary and Custodian, Mrs. M. B. Ferrey. Mr. H. R. Pattengill who had long served as secretary retired as he could not devote the whole of his time to the work.

Committees were appointed as follows: Committee on Publications, C. E. Bement, C. M. Burton and W. L. Jenks; Committee on By-laws, W. L. Jenks, A. C. Carton, and Rev. F. A. O'Brien.

The new Board of Trustees, including the historians of the Society was composed of the following members: For two years,

C. M. Burton, Edwin O. Wood, H. R. Pattengill and C. E. Bement; members for one year, L. T. Hemans, A. C. Carton, J. E. Beal, Rev. F. A. O'Brien and Joseph Greusel.[1]

The programme for Thursday afternoon included the reading of a memoir of Dr. Hermann Kiefer by Dr. J. B. Kennedy of Detroit and the presentation of a shell catalogue to the Society by Mrs. Loraine Pratt Immen of Grand Rapids. George Seeley of Pontiac gave a sample of his fiery campaign speeches of 1860.

In the closing session Thursday evening, Hon. Junius E. Beal, Regent of the University of Michigan, gave an address on "A Difference in View," defending the early pioneers of Michigan who have in recent years been criticized for ruthless destruction of Michigan's forests.

[1]John M. Bulkley of Monroe talked on "The Pursuit of History." Miss Mary Hefferan of Grand Rapids told of the life of Dr. Timothy Eastman.

Throughout the program appropriate music was interspersed with the papers and addresses. Vocal numbers were rendered by the Industrial School for Boys, the Lansing Public Schools, the Apollo Quartette, the School for the Blind, and individual numbers were given by Mr. R. C. Huston of the Michigan Agricultural College, Miss Helen Atkins, Miss Ruth Wood, Miss Muriel Smith, Mrs. F. O. Hesse, Archibald Jackson of Detroit and Miss Margaret Gilray of Sault Ste. Marie.

## GRAND RAPIDS MIDWINTER MEETING, JANUARY 30-31, 1913

The midwinter meeting of 1913 was held in Grand Rapids, January 30 and 31, in the auditorium of the Ryerson Public Library. The attendance was large for the season, adding much to the success of the meeting. A large part of that success was due to the interest of the librarian, Samuel H. Ranck, assisted by an effective committee on local arrangements, headed by Mrs. James H. Campbell.

The following Grand Rapids societies cooperated in entertainment:

The Old Residents' Association, of Grand River Valley.

The Saint Cecilia Society.

The Ladies' Literary Club.

[1]Deceased.

The West Side Ladies' Literary Club.
The Grand Rapids Woman's Club.
The Daughters of the American Revolution.
The Sons of the American Revolution.
The Grand Rapids Federation of Woman's Clubs.
The Woman's University Club.
The Grand Rapids Art Association.
La Societa Regina Margherita.
The Grand Rapids Teachers' Club.
The Grand Rapids Society of Elocution.

The meeting was called to order at 2:30 o'clock on Thursday afternoon. Prayer was offered by Rev. Alfred Wishart. Greetings were formally extended in behalf of the Historical Society of Grand Rapids by its President, Roger W. Butterfield, and in behalf of the Ladies' Literary Club by Mrs. William F. McKnight, to which Vice President William L. Jenks responded for the Society.

Both Mr. Butterfield and Mrs. McKnight struck the keynote of the popular attitude toward history and historical societies when they said that if historical societies and writers are to receive attention today they must not forget the present in their endeavor to preserve the past.

Mrs. Cornelia Hulst, author of "Indian Sketches," told some of the Indian legends she had gathered while preparing her book.

Mrs. Hulst also made the suggestion that this Society should make an effort, before too late, to preserve some of the characteristic beauty of Michigan's landscape by persuading the Legislature to set aside one of our finest swamps. She pointed out that when once drained these could never be replaced, with their rich vegetation from orchids to giant pines. "It would be a proud achievement," she said "for this Society to secure such a museum of natural history for the future lovers of natural beauty and future naturalists."[1]

The evening session also was held in the auditorium of the Ryerson Library, Vice-President Jenks presiding. The Right Rev. Henry J. Richter, bishop of the Catholic diocese of Grand Rapids, offered the invocation. The features of the evening were a paper by Hon. Edwin O. Wood of Flint on "The Old Northwest," and an address by Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, head of the Department of History in the University of Michigan, who took as his theme "Political cartoons and their effect on history."

Professor Van Tyne's address was delivered as one of the Uni-

[1]Acting on Mrs. Hulst's suggestion Hon. A. C. Carton, of the Public Domain Commission has set apart swamp tracts in the Public Domain preserves in 52 Counties.

versity Extension lectures. He showed cartoons of American politics from the period between the Revolution and the Civil War.

Friday morning an executive session of the Trustees of the Society was held at the Morton House, the Right Rev. F. A. O'Brien presiding. Ways and means were discussed for organizing local historical societies which should develop the local fields in cooperation with the State Society. By a unanimous vote the volumes of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections will be distributed "to all public libraries, public, parochial and the various denominational schools," in the belief that for the schools of Michigan, especially in their study of the pioneer history of the State, this is a valuable collection.

A third important step was a vote to submit to the present legislature a bill requiring the appointment of a State Commission to care especially for public documents in State and local archives. This movement culminated in the establishment of the Michigan Historical Commission. A vote was taken to submit to the legislature a bill for a new building near the Capitol at Lansing, or for an addition to the present building, in which the Society might have appropriate quarters.

In the early afternoon session, following the invocation by Rev. Edwin W. Bishop, Vice President William L. Jenks of Port Huron took up the topic which was discussed at the opening of the morning session of the Board of Trustees. He canvassed from various points of view the advantages of having a local historical society in every community, emphasizing the advantages to the community itself. A lively discussion followed. Among the speakers were Samuel H. Ranck, Superintendent of the Grand Rapids Public Library, Rev. F. A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo, Joseph Greusel of Detroit and Lawton T. Hemans of Mason.

Pleasing features of this session were a reading by Mrs. Ida M. Bailey, the Indian stories told by George A. Philp of Lake City, and reminiscences by several of the old pioneers in attendance.

In the closing session Friday evening, Regent Junius E. Beal of the University presiding, the Society enjoyed the presence of Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris and Lieutenant Governor John Q. Ross, in whose honor a reception was given in the St. Cecilia building. A very appropriate setting for the occasion, reproduced under the auspices of the Sophie de Marsac Campau Chapter, D. A. R., and under the personal direction of Mrs. P. L. Hamilton, was the New England pioneer kitchen with all its old-time utensils and its varied activities of flax and wool spinning, quilt-piecing, apple-paring and stringing, carpet-rag sewing, sampler-working, per-

formed by local talent, not omitting cradle-rocking. Appropriate music was furnished by the St. Mary's Choir and St. Cecilia quartet.

Governor Ferris in his address described the old home of his boyhood days.

Lieutenant Governor Ross paid a tribute to the memory of those who had made it possible for the Society to accomplish the work it has done for the history of Michigan and the Old Northwest.

Mrs. Lorraine Pratt-Immen read a tribute to Michigan written by Rose Hartwick Thorpe, formerly of this State. Mrs. Immen presented to the Society a beautiful silk flag, designating Mrs. M. B. Ferrey of Lansing as the deserving standard bearer and custodian for life.

George R. Fitch of Grand Rapids closed the program with an illustrated lecture on "Old and New Grand Rapids," after which a reception was held in the St. Cecilia ball room.

## ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 4-5, 1913

The annual meeting of 1913 was held in the Senate chamber of the Capitol in Lansing June 4 and 5. This meeting was the first to be held under the joint auspices of the Society and the newly created Historical Commission.

The first session was formally opened at 2 o'clock on Wednesday, June 4, with prayer offered by Rev. J. T. LeGear of Lansing, following which President Clarence M. Burton of Detroit summarized briefly the relation of the Society to the new State Department of History and Archives. He referred to the reason given by Governor Osborn for vetoing the appropriation for the Society in 1911, which was that the Society did not bear such a relation to the State government as to warrant the State's giving money for its support.

"As soon as it became known how the Governor felt about it" said Mr. Burton, "we set about to organize a new State department, a department of History and Archives, which could receive from the State government the necessary help. The legislature accordingly passed an act establishing the Michigan Historical Commission, which takes over the collecting, publishing, and distributing activities of the Society. This act will give a much larger field than we ever expected as originally organized. Under the act the Commission has the authority to collect from the various State, county, town, city, and village archives all important public documents over thirty years old, and in so doing to require the cooperation of the public officials having them in charge. These are to be properly housed, arranged, and catalogued for the use of the

public and of students. The public offices in London, notably the Public Record Office, has within its walls great masses of documents, national and local, swept together from the four corners of Great Britain, making an invaluable treasurehouse of historical material for the historians of Britain. In those offices there is more original material bearing on the early history of Michigan than there is in Michigan—than there is, indeed, in the United States. It has been carried thither during two hundred years. We hope, under this new organization, that we will do as well as Great Britain has in collecting materials on our State history. In the possibilities of this new department of the State government, the Society, which will receive the Commission's active cooperation, is placed on a surer foundation than ever before. The Society can do many things that the Commission cannot do effectively, like holding this meeting which you are all enjoying. The pioneers and historical workers, the great rank and file of those interested in the history of Michigan, need such an organization as this Society, through which to express themselves as a unit in relation to the historical interests of the State and of the local societies. We have now the ideal combination, a State supported Commission with scholars from our University and men of business insight from the ranks of Michigan's business world to direct it, and on the other hand the Society composed of the people themselves. I do not exactly think we owe a vote of thanks to our former Governor for the opposition which brought the situation to a head; probably he didn't have any philosophy about it. Anyway it has resulted in good."

The President called attention to the Shoemaker collection of maps made by Vice President W. L. Jenks, of Port Huron, which were shown in cases in a corner of the Senate chamber. He declared it the largest collection of Michigan maps he had ever seen.

Referring to the death of the Michigan poet, Will Carleton, Mr. Burton announced that the poet's books and many autograph poems had been recently purchased by him and could be consulted in his library in Detroit.

Mr. William P. Nisbett of Big Rapids, private secretary to Governor Ferris, representing the Governor who was absent, brought to the Society the Governor's warmest regards, his exceeding regret at not being able to be present, and the hearty assurance of his desire to cooperate with the Society in every way possible. Mr. Nisbett then spoke of his brief experience with local historical work in writing the history of Big Rapids. The experience brought forcibly to him the need of preserving local material and the con-

viction that it could be done effectively only through a live, local historical society.

A memoir of Hon. Joseph Greusel, which was prepared by his son was read by the Secretary of the Historical Commission, after which Mr. John Hubert Greusel, at President Burton's invitation to speak, paid a tribute to the memory of his father.

A portrait of the Hon. Joseph Greusel, presented to the Society, was received on behalf of the Society by Hon. Lawton T. Hemans.

The secretary's report was submitted by the acting secretary, Mrs. M. B. Ferrey.

The treasurer's report was submitted by Mr. B. F. Davis as follows:

Annual report of the treasurer of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 5, 1912 to the close of business June 3, 1913.

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand June 5, 1912 | $11 94 |
| Received from memberships during this year | 48 37 |
| | $60 31 |
| March 8, 1913, paid check for flowers for funeral of Hon. Joseph Greusel | 4 00 |
| Balance on hand June 3, 1913 | $56 31 |

Respectfully submitted,

B. F. Davis,
Treasurer.

The evening session of Wednesday was occupied by several well written papers: "The Indians of the Saginaw Valley," by Fred Dustin of Saginaw; "General Alpheus S. Williams," by John Hubert Greusel of Detroit; and "Our first homes," by Mrs. Mary M. Hoyt of Kalamazoo.

Thursday morning was occupied with a business session of the Board of Trustees; and also the early part of the afternoon session of the Society was devoted to business. The following officers were elected: President, C. M. Burton, of Detroit; Vice President, C. E. Bement, Lansing; Secretary, G. N. Fuller, Ann Arbor; Treasurer, B. F. Davis, Lansing. The new Board of Trustees is composed as follows: C. M. Burton, Edwin O. Wood, H. R. Pattengill, C. E. Bement, W. L. Jenks, Rt. Rev. Monsignor F. A. O'Brien, L. T. Hemans, J. E. Beal, A. L. Sawyer, and A. C. Carton.

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Superintendent of the State Histori-

cal Society of Wisconsin was made an honorary member by a unanimous vote of the Society acting upon the following report of the Committe on honorary membership:

"To the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, we would respectfully recommend that Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of Madison, Wisconsin, be elected an honorary member of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society in view of the important service he has rendered to the State of Michigan in preserving and extensively publishing materials pertaining to the early history of Michigan, and in view of the work characterized by fine scholarship which he has done in various lines of research and historical writing.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWIN O. WOOD,
FRANK A. O'BRIEN,

Approved by the Committee of Historians of the Pioneer and Historical Society:

FRANK A. O'BRIEN,
W. L. JENKS,
C. E. BEMENT."

On motion of Mr. Jenks a resolution was unanimously adopted extending the following vote of thanks to the State Board of Auditors for their loyal support of the Society in its recent crisis:

"The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society owes the continuance of its work for the past two years chiefly, if not entirely, to the friendly and generous action of the State Board of Auditors in so construing its powers as to preserve and protect the work which the Society has carried on for so many years, and which without such assistance would have been greatly injured. Therefore be it resolved, that this society deems it most appropriate that it should acknowledge the great value and importance of the aid so rendered, and should express its most hearty gratitude, and assure the Board of its belief that the people of the State of Michigan highly appreciate and approve their action, and also that this Society wishes to thank the Board for the many courtesies outside their official duties which it has received at the hands of the Board."

The members of the Board of Auditors included in this resolution are Hon. Frederick C. Martindale, Albert E. Sleeper, Huntley I. Russell, John W. Haarer, and A. C. Carton.

On motion of Monsignor F. A. O'Brien the Society ratified the following deed transferring its property to the Michigan Historical Commission:

"Be it known that the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, a corporation organized under the laws of Michigan, by its President thereof duly authorized does hereby give, grant, sell and assign to the State of Michigan all the property of every kind,

character, and description which it now owns or has under its control, giving and granting to the State of Michigan said property to have and to hold forever.

"The purpose of this instrument is to carry out the intent of said Society indicated by resolutions duly passed by its members and in recognition of the fact that the funds with which the said property was acquired were given by the State of Michigan through legislative appropriations over a long period of years, and in recognition of the propriety of the property so acquired being legally vested in the State of Michigan.

"In witness whereof the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has caused these presents to be signed by its President the 5th day of June in the year 1913.

(Signed) C. M. BURTON,
President of the Pioneer and Historical Society.

State of Michigan,
County of Ingham.

"On this 5th day of June, A. D., 1913, before me a notary public in and for said County personally appeared Clarence M. Burton known to me to be the President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and acknowledged that he executed the foregoing instrument for the purpose therein mentioned.

(Signed) E. C. AUSTIN,
Notary Public, County of Ingham, Michigan."

The discussion of the nature and purpose of the Historical Commission which followed engaged a number of speakers. Mr. Jenks opened the discussion by sketching the history of the Society and tracing the steps by which the Commission was formed. Mr. C. E. Bement prophesied great usefulness for the Commission in lines of work which the Society by its nature was not able to perform. Monsignor O'Brien said, "I can assure you in behalf of the members of the new Commission that the one thing they desire above all others is the hearty cooperation of the members of this Society. Only by such cooperation can the great things hoped for be achieved." Mr. Edwin O. Wood spoke briefly of the private collections of Michigan material already made indicating the historical interest and enterprize of many citizens. He congratulated the Society on the formation of the Commission to which he said it should be an elder brother. He believed that a new era had dawned for the historical interests of Michigan. President Burton laid stress upon the necessity of getting the work of the Society and Commission into close touch with the schools of the State and with local societies as well as with representative societies and commissions of other states. He expressed the hope that there might soon be established as a department of the Commission's

work, a bureau of information through which all inquiries about the state's history might be promptly and intelligently answered.

The following resolution introduced by Monsignor O'Brien was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved that the Pioneer and Historical Society tender a vote of thanks to Mrs. Ferrey for her generous and loyal services in behalf of the Society for the many years that she has been its efficient Assistant Secretary."

Following the business session President Burton introduced the new secretary of the Society and of the Historical Commission who reviewed at some length economic conditions in the Saginaw country previous to the admission of Michigan to the Union. The substance of Dr. Fuller's remarks can be read in Chapter XII of his volume, "Economic beginnings of southern Michigan, 1805-1837," which is not yet published.

Thursday evening Hon. E. O. Wood of Flint presided. Mr. C. E. Bement read the paper "Memoir, Melvin D. Osband," written by Mrs. Nellie Osband Baldwin, Grand Rapids, which was to have been given Wednesday evening. Mr. Jenks read the paper prepared by Mr. George A. Baker on "Some early fur traders of the St. Joseph Valley." Mrs. Caroline P. Campbell, Grand Rapids, read a paper on "Michigan portraits and their artists."

The feature of the evening was an informal address on "Historical work" by Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites of the Historical Society of Wisconsin.

"Now I take it," said Dr. Thwaites, referring to the Commission, "that one of the chief duties of a state-supported Historical Commission, is to foster historical interest and study among the masses of the people. While a Commission can issue bulletins of information and instruction it is not doing its full duty unless it collects the raw material out of which history is to be written; and this it cannot do without the sympathetic cooperation of the people. In the younger counties especially there should be sympathetic interviewing of pioneers while they are still among you. You will find the old settlers glad to respond to such attention. The interest you could thus foster would be vital to the growth of your local historical societies.

"In meetings like this very much depends upon the papers given. They should be vital to the interests and sympathies of the audience. They should be human, meaty, and, in general, short. Long papers tire old people. Brief biographical sketches would be very much in place. Scholarly papers, in the strict sense of that

phrase, while suitable for meetings of scholars and students, are hardly suitable for such a meeting as this, which, I take it, is primarily social and inspirational.

"In Wisconsin we have given up the yearly meetings. We do not have our friend Mr. Jarvis to sing for us; we do not have the red punch served by Mrs. Ferrey; so we have the business meeting for the election of officers in my office and a meeting in the evening with an address from one or more persons, absolutely limited by the watch to twenty minutes, followed by punch and crackers. What we need in this work is enthusiasm. Enthusiasm, however, is not necessarily gushing to be effective. Enthusiasm needs intelligent direction. History is a serious thing. You have got to have legislative assistance and to get it you will have to show the legislature that you are doing work of a serious nature.

"I was somewhat surprised in attending the meeting of your Commission this morning to find that the purpose for which I thought I was called here, namely, to consult with them, was futile; every one of your new Commission knew exactly what you wanted. The idea of the information bureau, mentioned by your president, Mr. Burton as a department of the Commission's work, is a most excellent one. Letters come to us every day from the capitol at Madison and from our means of information we are able to reply intelligently. Your Commission can do the same. I do not know of anything that needs more reform than local history. If people could only realize that this local history is after all a synopsis of what is going on in our country. The history of a nation is the history of its local communities. No local history that I know of in America has ever been adequately told, that is, in a way that we can feel its thrill and glamour. Blessed is the child, who, in the generations to come—and I believe the time will come in Michigan through this Commission—who can receive from its mother the history of the community and of the state in which it lives.

"Now just one word about public taxation to support such a Commission as this. As I have pointed out, the teaching of local history is an exceedingly important part of the general education. The justification of educating the child at public expense is that we make of him a better citizen; now the child that knows more about local history will become a better citizen."

Dr. Thwaites closed with a reference to cities that were appropriating public money for the study of the city's history in the city schools in the belief that it conduces to a more intelligent

citizenship. Among these cities he mentioned Buffalo as appropriating $5,000 a year for this purpose.

Following the address a reception was tendered to Dr. Thwaites in the Senate Chamber.

In Wednesday afternoon's session music was furnished by choruses from the Industrial School for Boys and from the 8th Grade of the Townsend and Cedar Street Schools of Lansing. In the evening Carl Kramp rendered a piano solo and vocal numbers were given by Mrs. Harry Baumgarden, by St. Mary's School, and by the Michigan Agricultural College Ladies' Glee Club. Mr. Harold Jarvis of Detroit sang on Thursday.

## PORT HURON MID-WINTER MEETING, FEBRUARY 5, 6, 1914

The ninth midwinter meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held at Port Huron in the hall of the Public Library, February 5 and 6, 1914.

Following the invocation by Rev. John Munday, Hon. John L. Black, Mayor of Port Huron, delivered an address of welcome at the Thursday afternoon session, to which Clarence M. Burton, President of the Society, responded.

Hon. Woodbridge N. Ferris, Governor of Michigan, was unable to be present, and his paper, "Lewis Cass, Michigan's Hero in the War of 1812," which he had delivered as an address at the Perry's Victory Centennial Celebration at Put-In-Bay, September 10, 1913, was read by the Secretary of the Society. This was followed by a paper on the late Thomas W. Palmer, prepared by Miss Agnes Burton and read by her father, Clarence M. Burton. The paper was supplemented by a talk by Mrs. Jane Kinney, of Port Huron, who spoke of the assistance given by Mr. Palmer to the Michigan women working in the interests of temperance in building and developing the Adrian School. William L. Jenks also gave some details of the life of Mr. Palmer in Port Huron and spoke of the gift of Palmer Park to the city of Port Huron by Senator Palmer.

Alexander Fraser, Provincial Archivist of Ontario, was present by invitation of the Michigan Historical Commission and was asked to speak. Mr. Fraser dwelt on the community of historical interests between Canada and the United States, especially the border States, and outlined the plans on which historical work in Canada is developed. He stated that the European plan is there followed and that the work of preserving and caring for historical records

and documents is carried on by a special department which is a part of the government. This department is responsible to the Provincial Parliament and derives its powers and support from that body. It has the custody of and authority over all documents, even when the papers and records are left in the department offices of which they are a part.

The feature of the Thursday evening session was the paper on Lieutenant Governor Patrick Sinclair, by William L. Jenks, Vice President of the Michigan Historical Commission. It was both historical and biographical and included many details of the early history of St. Clair County when Sinclair was the Commandant of Old Fort Gratiot.

At the Friday morning session, a paper on Will Carleton, reminiscent rather than biographical in character, was read by Byron A. Finney of the Michigan University Library, who was a lifelong and intimate friend of the poet's. At this session, also, a tribute to the late Reuben Gold Thwaites, formerly Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society and the principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Michigan Society, in Lansing, the preceding June, was paid by Edwin O. Wood, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission and a trustee of the Society. Professor Ford, of Ypsilanti, added a few words in regard to Dr. Thwaites' helpful interest in young men, and Mr. Jenks and Mr. Burton also added their testimonies to the esteem in which Dr. Thwaites was held by historical workers. Mrs. Caroline Ballentine, of Port Huron, read a paper describing the experiences of the early pioneers in St. Clair County.

At this session a life-membership in the Society was conferred on Alexander Fraser. A vote of thanks was given to those who took part in the programme and the Secretary was instructed to communicate this action to them. The papers read by Clarence M. Burton, Byron A. Finney, William L. Jenks and Edwin O. Wood were ordered to be published separately, in bulletin form.

The closing session was held Friday afternoon; the principal address was given by George W. Parker, of the Michigan Perry Centennial Commission. His subject was "Michigan's Contribution to the Perry Centennial Celebration," and his talk was illustrated by pictures of the celebration and the Perry Monument at Put-in-Bay. Mrs. Florence M. Gwinn read a paper on the "Early History of Huron County," and Judge William T. Mitchell, a jurist over 97 years old, spoke of political and legal events in Michigan, especially in Detroit and Port Huron, during his residence in the State. An invitation to be present and to address the Society had

been sent Judge Mitchell by the Michigan Historical Commission through the Secretary from the Commission's office at Lansing.

Musical selections were rendered during the various sessions of the two days' meeting by the children from the Polk Street School, Mr. Nicholas Plain, Miss Balmer, Miss Florence Fish, Miss Regina Walsh, Miss Helen MacDougall, Miss Elinore Cady, Miss Dorothy Kaesemyer, Mr. George McComb and Mrs. C. R. Withey, while the children from the Jefferson Street School danced the minuet in costume and Mr. W. E. Brown gave as a recitation the Indian legend of the birth of the arbutus.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING AT LANSING, JUNE 9, 10, 1914.

The fortieth annual meeting of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was held in the Senate chamber of the State Capitol, Lansing, June 9 and 10, 1914. The meeting was divided into five sessions. The first session opened Tuesday afternoon, the President, Clarence M. Burton, presiding. The following resolution was offered by the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien, member of the Michigan Historical Commission and of the Board of Trustees of the Society:

Before beginning our work at this meeting we desire to express our deep concern at the sad news that has come to us of the condition of the amiable wife of our beloved Governor. Therefore: Be it resolved: That the president of this Association communicate to his excellency the heartfelt sympathy of this body and the best wishes of each member that good health may come to Mrs. Ferris once more, and that the good Lord may give comfort and help in these hours of trial to our distressed Chief Executive.

This was supported and carried unanimously.

Clarence E. Bement, Vice President and one of the resident trustees of the Society, delivered the address of welcome in which he spoke of the cooperation of the Michigan Historical Commission and the Pioneer and Historical Society in the work of gathering and preserving historical papers, archives and records. He dwelt particularly on the fact that, although it was believed by many the idea that the Commission had entirely superseded the Society, was not true. On the contrary, the Society had obtained a larger usefulness by the creation of the Commission as a part of the State government, and had not lost in any measure its power and influence.

In responding to Mr. Bement's address, Mr. Burton, President of

both the Commission and Society, referred to Mr. Bement's remarks about the division of labor between the Historical Commission and the Society. He said that, while in former years, the members of the Society had assembled once a year to have a good time, they did not know of the actual work that was done outside of these meetings, except through the annual reports or proceedings. The outside work, he declared, is the work that has been surrendered to the Historical Commission, and so far as the members of the Society are concerned, there will be no change between the Historical Society of the past and that of the present and future.

The annual reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were then read. The latter, showing a balance on hand of $22, was as follows:

Annual report of the Treasurer of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society from June 3rd, 1913, to the close of business June 9th, 1914.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash on hand June 3rd, 1913 | | $56 31 |
| Received from membership | | 27 00 |
| | | $83 31 |
| June 16th, 1913, paid Sullivan & Co. | $5 00 | |
| January 26th, 1914, paid W. L. Jenks | 56 31 | |
| | | 61 31 |
| June 10th, 1914, balance on hand | | $22 00 |

Respectfully submitted,
(Signed) B. F. Davis,
Treasurer.

An invitation was extended the Society from Mrs. Mary C. Spencer, State Librarian, to visit the State Library for the purpose of examining the books relating to the history of Michigan.

Prof. Claude S. Larzelere, of the Mount Pleasant Normal School, gave a paper on the "Teaching of Michigan History" and a discussion of the subject followed, led by John M. Munson, Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction, and Henry R. Pattengill, formerly Superintendent of Public Instruction and at one time Secretary of the Pioneer and Historical Society. Mr. Munson spoke of the dramatic production of Hiawatha by the Indians and advocated entertainments of like nature in each locality as a means of interesting the people in the history of their community. Mr. Pattengill said that the chief value of history was to act as a guide to the future. He further said that the study of Michigan history would be put in the regular school course only when the Superintendent of Instruction had been convinced that it was essential.

A general discussion, by the members of the Society, followed, dur-

ing which several of those who had been among the State's pioneers related their experiences in the early days. An invitation to the Society, was presented by Mr. James L. Smith of Muskegon, from the Muskegon Historical Society, to hold the midwinter meeting in that city. He said that the local society had 150 members, although but a new organization, and was actively engaged in promoting various measures to preserve local landmarks, public and private documents of historical interest and to increase the study of state history. Invitations were also extended to the Society for the next midwinter meeting from Coldwater, Mt. Pleasant, Howell and Detroit.

Regent Junius E. Beal of Ann Arbor spoke at the Tuesday evening session on the history of Forest Conservation in Michigan. He said that the main questions to be considered were the reasons why it was expedient for our ancestors to cut and burn the trees and why it is our duty to replace them. Mr. Beal told the history of the clearing of the land by the early pioneer and the necessity for their work. He spoke of the value of trees as historical records of the natural conditions of past years and dwelt on the actual money value of the trees of the various cities.

Mr. Beal was followed by John C. Ketcham, Master of the State Grange who spoke on the subject of the "History and Purpose of the Grange Movement in Michigan."

At the opening of the Wednesday morning session Mr. Bement presented the following resolution:

That the chair be authorized to appoint a committee of three to present to the Society nominations for officers for the coming year.

Supported and carried.

Mr. Burton appointed as this committee, Byron A. Finney, Mrs. Mary C. Spencer and R. C. Allen, directing them to report during the afternoon.

The papers read at this session were by R. C. Allen, State Geologist, whose subject was "Douglas Houghton;" Professor M. O. Hedrick, of the Michigan Agricultural College, on "The Importance of Social and Economic Elements in Michigan History," and Alexander Fraser who spoke on archival work in Ontario.

Mr. Frazer said in part:

"We regard every document as a public archive in Canada. By that I mean every paper connected with the government of the people into which the public money enters. We consider the papers of any public office as essential public material. The correspondence of schools and the records of cities be-

long to the state as much as the papers in the state department, and we treat them all as public papers. I do not believe that there should be any private possession of historical papers. The Ontario Department of Archives is in touch with all of the other departments of the government. It gets the papers not in current use from the various departments and groups them according to their contents. They are then indexed and inventoried, after which they are returned to the departments from whence they came and the indexes and inventories are filed in the Department of Archives. In the course of time new men come into the various departments of state, and the records are neglected unless they are easily available. If the Archivist has done his work properly the entire records of the particular office are available, and to neglect them is inexcusable on the part of a public official.

"A short time ago there was a meeting at the Hague over the boundary line between the United States and Canada. The archive office of Ontario was in a position to furnish the Canadian Government, and through it Great Britain, with the documentary information which enabled Great Britain to prepare her claim. Such questions as these arise often. Now our archivists have begun to place their indexes of the public papers in the departments to which the papers belong, so as to enable the State officials to find their own documents more readily.

"Some years ago I started the archive department of Ontario with a small office. Now I have about 5,000 square feet of wall space, which will do for a few years, but I have already so much additional material indexed that we must soon put up another building. We have filled a large warehouse with material sent from Great Britain and have spent over $1,000,000 for salaries and purchases of materials. Of course my accommodations would not be sufficient for all the papers of the department and we follow this plan. In each department it is arranged that some clerk shall be appointed to have a general care of the papers of that department. They are set aside in the vault—every department has a very large vault and by close shelving is able to store a great deal of material—and we keep in the archive department only the catalogue and index of the papers, with directions that will enable us to locate the documents. In 1871 the government of Ottawa made an effort to abolish the work of the Provincial Archivist but to-day that office is the pride of Canada."

Wednesday afternoon the committee on nominations presented the following report:

Acting under the amendment passed at the annual meeting of 1913 we hereby nominate the following persons for the term of two years: Clarence M. Burton, Detroit; William L. Jenks, Port Huron; Henry R. Pattengill, Lansing; Clarence E. Bement, Lansing; Edwin O. Wood, Flint. This constitutes the entire Board of Trustees, with the names of the members who were elected for two years in 1913, who are: Rt. Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien, Kalamazoo; Augustus C. Carton, East Tawas; Lawton T. Hemans, Mason; Junius E. Beal, Ann Arbor; and A. L. Sawyer, Menominee.

The report was adopted.

A vote of thanks was given to the Industrial School boys' chorus and band for the music rendered by them. Also a vote of thanks was given to all taking part in the program of the annual meeting and the Secretary was instructed to convey the expression of the same to each person.

The Society then adjourned, at three o'clock, for the purpose of witnessing the unveiling of the tablet commemorating Michigan's first State Capitol at Lansing, placed on the State building at the corner of Washington avenue and Allegan street by the Lansing Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. There was a short program of addresses and musical selections at the place of the unveiling. Rev. Henry J. Simpson pronounced the invocation. Mrs. James M. Turner, regent of the Lansing chapter, presented the tablet which was unveiled by Mrs. A. M. Cummins in the absence of Mrs. C. B. Grant of Detroit, who had been invited to perform that office. Mrs. Grant was the first regent of this chapter, and she is a daughter of the late Governor Felch. Mrs. Harvey J. Campbell of Benton Harbor, State Vice- regent, represented the Michigan organization and Hon. Lawton T. Hemans addressed the gathering in the place of Governor Ferris, who was detained by the serious illness of Mrs. Ferris. The school children's chorus, under the direction of J. W. Stephens gave several patriotic musical numbers.

A feature of the Wednesday evening session of the Society was an address on the "Spirit of the Pioneer," by the Rev. William F. Dooley, S. J., President of the Detroit University who said that the spirit that had created the pioneer out of every day men and women was the spirit of religion. "It was religious motives that tempted the caravals of Columbus out upon the unknown deep," he stated. "It was religion that inspired the early settlers in the St. Lawrence Valley and brought the Lutherans, Puritans and Catholics to settle this land that they might lift up their hands and voices to God without oppression."

Father Dooley was followed by Judge Rollin H. Person who spoke on "The Viewpoint of the Bench on the Elements of the Pioneer."

The Board of Trustees of the Society held a meeting in the Governor's parlor Wednesday afternoon at 1:30 o'clock, with the President, Clarence M. Burton, in the chair. The other trustees present were W. L. Jenks, Frank A. O'Brien, E. O. Wood, Clarence E. Bement, and A. C. Carton.

At this meeting Clarence E. Bement was elected President of the Society, A. C. Carton vice-president, B. F. Davis, treasurer, and the Secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission was made Secretary, *ex officio*, of the Society.

Muskegon was selected as the place of holding the midwinter meeting in 1915. It was also voted that the editors who furnish copies of their papers free to the Historical Commission be made honorary members of the Society and that the following persons be also made honorary members of the Society: Hon. Woodbridge N. Ferris, Albert E. Sleeper, Huntley I. Russel, Augustus C. Carton, Frederick Martindale, John Haarer, Rev. John W. Cavanaugh and Rev. Father William F. Dooley. The Rt. Rev. Frank A. O'Brien was appointed a committee of one to prepare a suitable certificate of honorary membership for presentation to the above newly received members.

# PATRICK SINCLAIR

## BUILDER OF FORT MACKINAC

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BY WILLIAM L. JENKS

# PATRICK SINCLAIR; BUILDER OF FORT MACKINAC

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS.

BY far the most conspicuous object in the Island of Mackinac is the old fort which overhangs so protectingly the village below. The thick stone and earth walls, the three old block houses, built, according to the cards upon the doors, in 1780, the old buildings within the enclosure, all force the attention of the visitor, resident or tourist, to the age of the structure, but to few is known even the name, much less anything of the career of its creator.

In the extreme northeast of Scotland lies the shire or county of Caithness; a large part of it low and boggy, it rises toward the south and west, and contains but three streams of any size, the Wickwater and the Forss and Thurso Rivers. Most of the coast line is rocky and forbidding and good harbors are few. Near the northeast corner is John O'Groat's house, and south of that along the East Coast is a large bay called Sinclair's Bay. For several centuries the name Sinclair or St. Clair—they are in reality the same, the latter being nearer to the original Norman form—has been the leading one in Caithness; the first earl of Caithness, created in 1455, being Sir William Sinclair.

From this shire, forbidding in its natural aspects, but like so many other places in Scotland, furnishing an abundant supply of young, energetic, capable and courageous men, came Patrick Sinclair, the subject of this sketch, of interest to Michigan, not alone because of his connection with Mackinac, but because he was the first man to establish a permanent foothold in the way of occupation, erecting buildings and cultivating land along St. Clair River. This noble river should today bear the name of Sinclair as it did for many years a century ago. The present name is derived from Arthur St. Clair, first governor of the northwest territory, the original name passing gradually through forgetfulness of the one and growing importance of the other to its present form. It is a curious fact that both Arthur St. Clair and Patrick Sinclair were born in the same year in the county of Caithness, within twenty-five miles of each other, and they were undoubtedly distantly related.

Whatever the cause,—temperament, roving disposition, hard and

forbidding material conditions at home,—certain it is that Scotchmen have proved through centuries the mainstay of British enterprise and glory in foreign lands, and Scotch soldiers and explorers have done much to extend England's domains.

Patrick Sinclair was born in 1736 at Lybster, a small hamlet on the east coast of Caithness about 11 miles southeast of Wick, the chief town of the County, and was the only son and oldest of four children of Alexander who had married a connection in the person of Amelia Sinclair, the daughter of another Alexander Sinclair. His father was the fourth Sinclair of Lybster and the name Patrick was common in the family, his grandfather bearing it, and his great grandmother was the daughter of Patrick Sinclair of Ulbster.

We have no knowledge of his youthful education but it must have been considerable as his papers and correspondence evince facility in expression, clear ideas and a good command of language.

In July, 1758, Patrick Sinclair purchased a commission as ensign—practically equivalent to 2nd Lieutenant, a grade not then existing—in the famous 42nd Highlanders, or Black Watch Regiment, but he may have had some previous service in some capacity as in a letter to Gen. Haldimand in August, 1779, he refers to his 25 years service in the army, which if not a rhetorical exaggeration would imply that he had entered the service in 1754. At any rate he soon saw active service, as his regiment was sent to the West Indies in 1759, and he participated in January of that year in the attack and capture of Guadeloupe. Not long after with his regiment he went to New York and then to Oswego where they spent several months. In July, 1760 he was promoted to lieutenant and in August his regiment joined the army which under the leadership of General Amherst invaded Canada and captured Montreal. Later it went to Staten Island, and in October, 1761, shortly before his regiment left for the West Indies he exchanged into the 15th Regiment of Foot. The reason for this exchange is not evident as the 15th Foot went to the West Indies the same Fall and in August, 1763 came back to New York and then to Canada. One Company however of the 15th Regiment remained in America and it is possible that this was Sinclair's Company, as there is some evidence that he was at Quebec for a year from October, 1761, then for a time at New York, and again at Quebec. For a part of the time at least he was in Capt. Robert Stobo's Company. In the Fall of 1763 or the Spring of 1764 Sinclair must have been transferred to or connected with the Naval Department of the Lakes, as in a petition to the Earl of Hillsborough in 1769, he states that he "hath

served his Majesty near six years last past on the Great Lakes in North America where he had the honor to command his Majesty's vessels on the Lakes Erie, Sinclair, Huron and Michigan," and the inscription on a silver bowl presented to him by the merchants of Detroit in 1767 refers to him as Captain Sinclair of the Naval Department.

The 15th Regiment of Foot was stationed at various posts in Canada, but no part of it as far west as Detroit, which was garrisoned mainly from the 60th Regiment during the entire period Sinclair was in charge (as he says), of the navigation on the lakes, his headquarters, however, being Detroit.

Sinclair's duties were general but important; to maintain and provision the boats, see to their arming and protection against the Indians, who were numerous, and, for some time after 1763, largely hostile to the English, and so dispose the shipping as to serve best the interest not only of the various garrisons, but also of the Indian traders and the merchants, who of necessity depended upon these boats for the bringing in of their goods and the carrying out of their furs. The boats then in use consisted of canoes, batteaux, snows, sloops and schooners. The canoe was the famed birch bark canoe noted for its carrying capacity in proportion to its weight and admirably adapted to the carriage of persons but not freight. The batteau was a light boat worked with oars, long in proportion to its breadth and wider in the middle than at the ends. It was well adapted for carrying freight, and for some years after the English obtained possession of the lakes it was extensively used between the posts in transporting both freight and passengers. Of necessity the shore was closely followed both with batteau and canoe.

The snow was a type of vessel long since gone out of existence, with two ordinary masts and rigged much like a brig, but having in addition a small mast near the main mast to which the trysail was attached.

All the sailng vessels were of small burden. The schooner "Gladwin," famous for her successful attempt in bringing aid to the besieged Detroit garrison was of 80 tons burden. Up to 1780 the largest boat on the lakes was the brig Gage of 154 tons, built in 1774.

In the same petition referred to above Sinclair states that he is the only person on the lakes who has ever explored the navigation of the lakes for vessels of burden "by taking exact soundings of them and the rivers and Straits which join them with the bearings of the headlands, islands, bays, etc., etc."

The beginning of the siege of Detroit by Pontiac was signalized by the murder by the Indians on May 7th, 1763, of Captain Robertson, Sir Robert Davers, six soldiers and a boat's crew of two sailors while engaged in taking soundings near the mouth of the "River Huron" as the account states it, now called St. Clair River, to see if the lakes and rivers were navigable for a schooner then lying at Detroit on her way to Mackinac.

As a means of facilitating his duties, especially in regard to the communications between Detroit and the upper lakes, Sinclair erected, in 1764, a small fort just south of the mouth of Pine River in St. Clair County, the buildings comprising two barracks, one for sailors and one for soldiers, two block houses for cannon and small arms, and a wharf for drawing out and careening vessels, all enclosed within a stockade. This post, about midway between lakes Huron and St. Clair, enabled him to control the river as regards the Indians, and also furnished a place for trade with them. This establishment was ordered and approved by Colonel Bradstreet who was in Detroit in August, 1764. During the season of 1764 Sinclair had under his command the schooner "Gladwin" which had brought relief to the beleaguered garrison at Detroit in the siege of Pontiac, and at the close of that season's navigation he put her in winter quarters at Pine River.

In connection with his duties while stationed on the Lakes he made a trip of exploration down in the Indiana Country along the Wabash river, thus acquiring considerable knowledge of the French settlements in that vicinity.

Sinclair seems on the whole to have got along with the Indians very satisfactorily, and to have obtained their respect and liking and to have established a widespread reputation to that effect. He was not entirely free from troubles however, as in 1767 the Chippewas, or Mississaguas, murdered a servant of his near the foot of Lake Huron. The murderers were apprehended and sent to Albany for trial but were finally released to his indignation.

In 1767 the system of operating boats on the Lakes was changed and delivered over to private contractors, and Sinclair's duties and official position terminated but it required some time to close out his matters, and when in the early summer of 1768 his regiment returned to England he remained upon the Lakes, and did not return to England until the spring of the following year. That his conduct of affairs while in charge was acceptable to the class with whom he came most in contact outside of his government relations is proved by the presentation to him in 1767 of a silver bowl—still

PATRICK SINCLAIR.

preserved in the family—with the following inscription engraved upon it: "In remembrance of the encouragement experienced upon all occasions by the merchants in the Indian countries from Capt. Patrick Sinclair of the Naval Department, not as a reward for his services, but a public testimony of their gratitude this is presented instead of a more adequate acknowledgment which his disinterested disposition renders impracticable. Dated the 23rd September, 1767." The merchants of Mackinac also gave him a testimonial.

Sinclair had erected the buildings and made the improvements at his fort mainly at his own expense, and in March, 1769, he applied to Gen. Gage, then commanding the British forces in America, to be reimbursed for his outlays—£200—but Gage replied that the Government had not directed the construction and therefore Sinclair could do with the improvements what he saw fit. Perhaps in anticipation of such result and as a measure of self protection Sinclair had obtained from the Indians a deed to a tract of land upon the St. Clair River, 2½ miles along the river by the same in depth to include his improvements. This deed was dated July 27th, 1768, and was signed by Massigiash and Ottawa, chiefs of the Chippewa Nation, in the presence of 15 Indians of that Nation and of George Turnbull, Captain of the Second Battalion of the 60th Regiment, George Archbold, Lieutenant, and ensigns Robert Johnson and John Amiel of the same Regiment, also of John Lewis Gage, Ensign of the 31st Regiment, and Lieut. John Hay of the 60th Regiment, Commissary of Indian affairs. In the deed the land is described as being "on the Northwest side of the River *Huron,* between Lake Huron and Lake Sinclair, being one mile above the mouth of a small river commonly called Pine River and ending one mile and a half below the mouth of said Pine River." The consideration stated is "the love and regard we bear for our friend Lieut. Patrick Sinclair and for the love and esteem the whole of our said nation has for him for the many charitable acts he has done us, our wives and children."

The King of England in his proclamation of October 3rd, 1763, establishing the province of Quebec, had expressly prohibited the obtaining of deeds from the Indians except under special license, and through certain officials. This deed, therefore, although executed with considerable formality, and in the presence of the highest British Officials in the vicinity, did not operate to convey any legal title and this was recognized by Sinclair himself in 1774, in a petition to the government to be reimbursed for his expenditures on the property.

The property thus obtained was of sufficient size and quality to entitle him to consideration among the land owners of his native home, and he improved it by clearing, by setting out an orchard on the north side of Pine River, and by additional buildings. It included a considerable body of pine and it is a curious fact that this marked on the East side of Michigan the Southern line of the great pine section of the lower peninsula. During the period of his station at Detroit, Sinclair used the fort, buildings and pinery, but it is not known who looked after it during his absence from this locality after leaving in 1769 until 1779 when he arrived at Mackinac, but in 1780 Francis Bellecour, the British Indian Agent at Detroit, was in charge. He evidently was not giving satisfaction to the Indians in the vicinity, as in July of that year Maskeash, one of the Chiefs who signed the deed, with his wife and ten other Indians from along St. Clair River, went up on one of the government vessels, commanded by Alex Harrow, to Fort Mackinac to ask that Baptiste Point de (or du) Sable, be appointed to take charge of the property in place of Bellecour. DeSable was a free mulatto who had traded with the Indians at the lower end of Lake Michigan, and, as he was friendly to the Americans, had been captured in 1779 by a British force from Fort Mackinac on the ground of his being a sympathizer with the American Rebels, and taken to Mackinac and detained. By his conduct after his capture he commended himself to his captors and to Sinclair, then Lieutenant Governor, and as a result he was released and sent down to look after this property and trade with the Indians. He appears to have remained there more or less continuously until 1784 when his effects were taken to Detroit and he returned to Illinois and continued at Peoria and Chicago until his death in 1811.

Although not in chronological order the subsequent history of this tract may be here narrated.

In 1783 Lieutenant Governor Sinclair was living on the Isle of Orleans awaiting a decision upon the allowance of his accounts. A young man by the name of Nicholas Boilvin who was a native of the parish of St. Nicholas near Quebec, decided to try his fortunes in the far west, and April 5th., 1783, Sinclair gave to him a power of attorney to take charge of his farm on Pine River, his "stock, houses, barns, orchards, gardens, timber and every other article thereto appertaining." The same instrument recommended Boilvin to the protection of the officers at Detroit, so that all other persons might be prevented from cutting timber or trading near the post to Boilvin's detriment.

Boilvin, on reaching Detroit, decided to go still farther west and

THE OLD FORT AND STATE PARK, MACKINAC ISLAND.

September 20th, 1783, he assigned his power of attorney to David Ross and shortly after went to St. Louis. He there became an Indian agent of the United States, but later removed to Prairie du Chien, where he was for many years a person of some consequence.

In 1788, Sinclair's rights were sold at auction and bought by Meldrum & Park, a firm of merchants and Indian traders of Detroit who went into possession of the property, made improvements and erected two saw mills and a grist mill.

In 1795, as the Indian deed to Sinclair had never been registered, but taken by him to England, finally finding its way to the Public Record office in London, Meldrum & Park obtained another deed from twenty-six Chippewa Chiefs, purporting to be in confirmation of the former deed to Sinclair; but the new deed conveyed a tract ten miles along St. Clair River by four miles in depth or about six times as much land. This seems to have been in accordance with the usual way of honesty and fairness with which the white men treated the Indian. This deed was not recognized by the United States as a conveyance of title, but the possessions taken under it enabled Meldrum & Park and their grantees to obtain patents from the United States, in 1810, to nearly five thousand acres.

In 1768 or 1769 Sinclair petitioned the Earl of Hillsborough, then Secretary for the Colonies, for the appointment of Superintendent of Navigation upon the Lakes, pointing out his experience, his successful services and the great need of such an official to protect the interests of the government, but the petition was refused, much to Sinclair's disappointment.

It is not known exactly when he returned to England and his regiment, but it was sometime in the Spring of 1769 and he was engaged in recruiting for upwards of a year.

In May 1771 he applied to the Earl of Hillsborough for the grant of a house at Detroit belonging to the Crown in lieu of his buildings at Pine River. The matter was referred to General Gage, then at New York, who promised to look into the matter and see if that could be done without injury but apparently the inquiry was never made and nothing came of the petition.

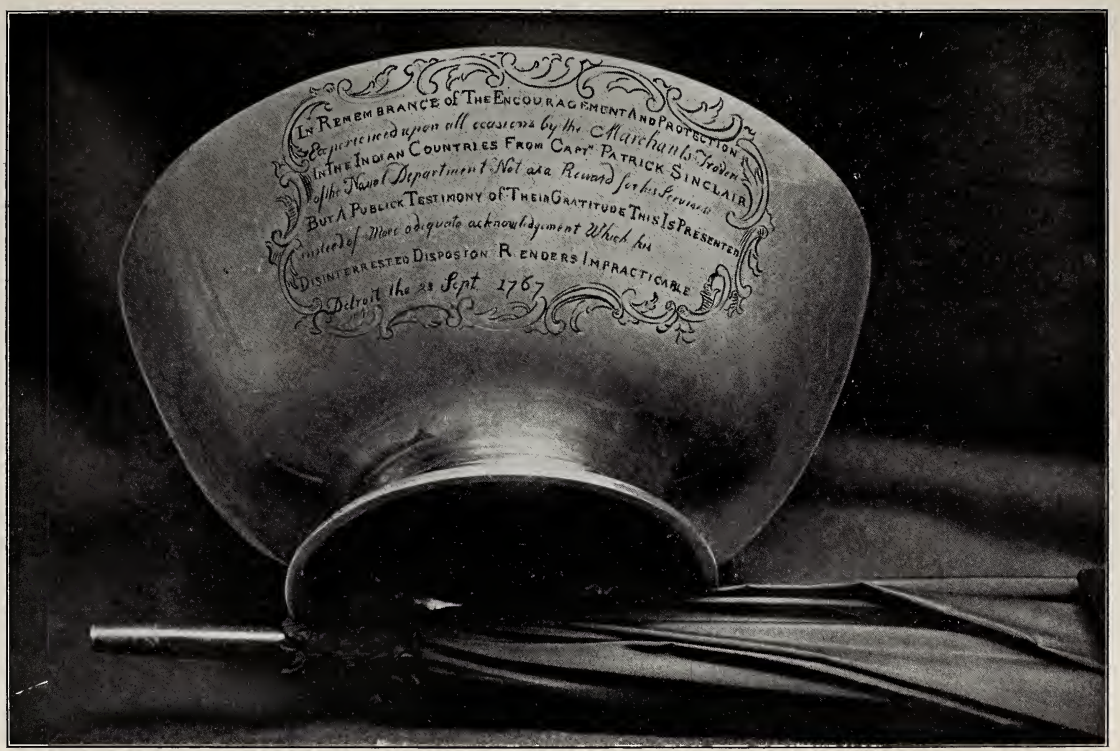
He was promoted to Captain April 13, 1772, and the next year retired with the provision that he would not lose his rank if he rejoined the army. Upon his retirement Sinclair returned to his ancestral home at Lybster, but time moved slowly there to a man accustomed for years to the wilderness and freedom of the Great Lakes in America and to the power and influence which Sinclair had been wont to exercise and directly upon his retirement he

began exerting influence to get back to this country. On June 1st, 1773, Sir Charles Thompson who had been for seven years the Colonel of the 15th Regiment, and who was an intimate personal friend of the King, wrote Lord Dartmouth in his behalf, recommending him as a proper person for appointment in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, New York and the New England Provinces, but nothing came of it. The government had never recognized his title to his land in America, nor had it ever repaid his outlays upon it, and in December, 1774, he applied for payment not only of these charges, but also for £56 which he paid to the Indians in redemption of white captives. In the same account he includes £27 for his expenses caused by his being detained in the west when his regiment was sent to Europe and £70 for two servants killed by the Indians. In February, 1775, his same kind and influential friend wrote again to Lord Dartmouth recommending Captain Sinclair for employment in Canada. This time the fates were propitious and prompt, as on April 7th, 1775, he was commissioned by King George III, as Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of the Post of Missillimakinac.

By the Proclamation of 1763 the Province of Quebec was established with such boundaries that practically all the Great Lake region lay outside, and therefore without any established form of government, which remained essentially military, without courts or ordinary civil officers. The Quebec Act, passed by Parliament and effective in October, 1774, greatly extended the limits of the Province so as to reach the Ohio on the South and the Mississippi on the west. By this Act a form of government by Governor and Council was provided and the old French laws recognized.

Although the Act itself made no reference to or provision for the western posts, the King in April, 1775, recognized four western districts or posts, and appointed as many Lieutenant Governors or Superintendents, one each to the posts of Detroit, Missilimakinac, St. Vincennes, and the Illinois. These appointees were respectively Henry Hamilton, Patrick Sinclair, Edward Abbott and Matthew Johnson. There was no attempt made to define the limits of each district, but ordinarily no question could arise over conflict of jurisdiction. There was in each case a fortified place, which formed the center of operations. There was, however, a clear distinction between the Post or District, and the fortified place; thus in the case of Sinclair, his seat of operations was Fort Mackinac, while his post was Missillimakinac and extended to cover the territory of all the Indians who were wont to come to that point to trade.

In the commission appointing Sinclair Lieutenant Governor


In Remembrance of The Encouragement And Protection
Experienced upon all occasions by the Merchants Trading
In The Indian Countries From Capt.n Patrick Sinclair
of the Naval Department Not as a Reward for his Services
But A Public Testimony of Their Gratitude This Is Presented
Instead of More adequate acknowledgment Which his
Disinterrested Disposition Renders Impracticable
Detroit the 23 Sept. 1767

PUNCH-BOWL PRESENTED TO CAPTAIN PATRICK SINCLAIR.

there was no definition of his powers but he was to hold the position with all its "rights, privileges, profits, perquisites and advantages during the King's pleasure." The incumbent, however, was required to obey such orders and directions as he might receive from time to time from the Captain General and Commander in Chief of Quebec.

As there was no statute or general regulation upon the subject, the relation of the Lieutenant Governor, a civil officer, to the military force stationed at his post was indefinite and at Detroit was productive of considerable trouble.

Anxious to arrive at his post of duty promptly, there being no direct shipping from Glasgow to Quebec, Sinclair sailed for Baltimore, where he arrived July 26th, 1775, and at New York August 1st. His purpose then was to go up the Hudson to Albany, thence to Oswego, and from there by boat to Quebec, and he made all preparation to leave New York August 4th, but on that day the Provincial Congress of New York then in session, having learned the previous day of his presence in the city, and of his great influence with the Indians, thought it unwise to permit him to go to his post where he might prejudice his Indian friends against the Colonies, and took him in custody and sent him on parole to Nassau Island in Suffolk County, Long Island, where he remained until the following March, when upon his application to be permitted to retire to Europe, the Continental Congress granted his petition and he returned to England that summer.

He remained in England about a year and, apparently, found it rather difficult to get passage back to America, as in May, 1777, we find Lord George Germaine, then Secretary of the Colonies, granting Sinclair permission in response to request to come over in the packet Bristol rather than as "an unwelcome guest in a man-of war."

He did not reach America until the fall of 1777, this time at Philadelphia where he went with letters to Sir William Howe who advised him that his best plan to reach his post of duty via Quebec was to go by way of the St. Lawrence River the following spring. Accordingly he spent the winter with Lord Howe and when the English fleet and forces left for England in May, 1778, Captain Sinclair went as far as Halifax, where he was again compelled to wait until he could obtain transportation to Quebec.

Communications between Halifax and Quebec were infrequent and slow and it was a year later, in June, 1779, that Captain Sinclair arrived at Quebec and was ready to present himself and his commission to the Governor and receive his instructions and pro-

ceed to his post, although he had sent a communication to the Governor from Halifax in October of the year before.

At this time Sir Frederick Haldimand was Governor General. He was of Swiss birth and, after some years service in the Prussian army joined the British forces in 1754 and was rapidly promoted. He was an efficient officer and a good soldier, but his character and training both emphasized the military over the civil power. On more than one occasion he received severe reprimands from the English government because of actions due to this feeling.

The officer then in command at Fort Mackinac was Maj. Arent Schuyler DePeyster who had been there for five years. He was a capable officer, quite influential with the Indians and tactful in his intercourse with others. He was gifted in a literary way, and although of American birth had strong English sympathies, serving in the English army during the Revolutionary War. Upon his retirement from the army he went to Dunfries, Scotland, his wife's native place, where he became a close friend of the Poet Burns. For some time De Peyster had been desirous of leaving Mackinac, giving as his reasons that his health was poor and that his private affairs at New York—where his family had long been established—sadly needed his presence but his real reason was the distance of his post from civilization, as no further complaints were heard from him after he was transferred to Detroit.

It is probable that Haldimand and Sinclair had met before. In 1760 Haldimand, as lieutenant Colonel, accompanied the British force from Oswego to Montreal and Sinclair's regiment, the 15th Foot, was a part of the force. Although Sinclair arrived in Quebec early in June, 1779, and undoubtedly presented himself promptly with his commission and a letter from Lord Germaine, which stated that, as Lieutenant Governor, he would have command over the military force stationed there, as well as civil authority, the Governor General, who did not relish the idea of Sinclair's exercising military as well as civil powers at his post, put him off on various pretences for over a month—in the meantime writing to DePeyster that he intended to delay Sinclair until the ship's arrival from England in mid-summer, hoping perhaps to receive by then some authority to reduce or negative the instructions in Lord Germaine's letter. The ships arrived, but nothing to favor his wishes; he thereupon wrote to England, commenting upon the union of the civil and military authority in one person; but the reply received the following year made plain that the action of the government in this respect was fully considered and would not be altered.

In the meantime Haldimand issued a set of instructions for Sin-

SITE OF FORT MICHILIMACKINAC ON THE MAINLAND NEAR MACKINAW CITY.

From Schoolcraft "Ethnological Researches Among the Red Men."

clair, in which, disobeying the express terms of Lord Germaine's letter, he authorized Sinclair to act as Commandant only until a senior officer of the garrison stationed there should arrive, and impressed upon him that only such senior officer had power over the troops to be sent beyond garrison limits, and in addition the perquisites attached to the commander of the post were to go to the officer.

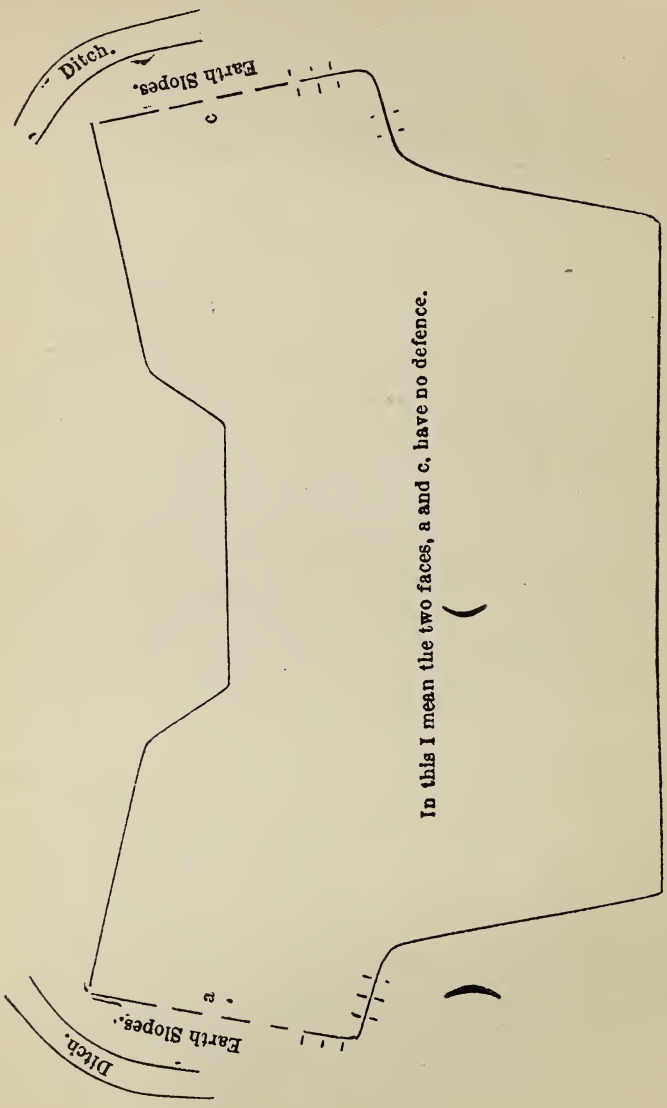
Naturally such instructions proved very distasteful to Sinclair who at once addressed a spirited remonstrance to the Governor.

After some vigorous correspondence, in which Sinclair proposed to return to England rather than occupy a position which might be humiliating, the matter was compromised; the instructions were somewhat modified, and it was represented to him that there was in fact no senior officer at the post and an early opportunity would be given to purchase a commission as officer which would entitle him to outrank anyone who would be sent to the garrison.

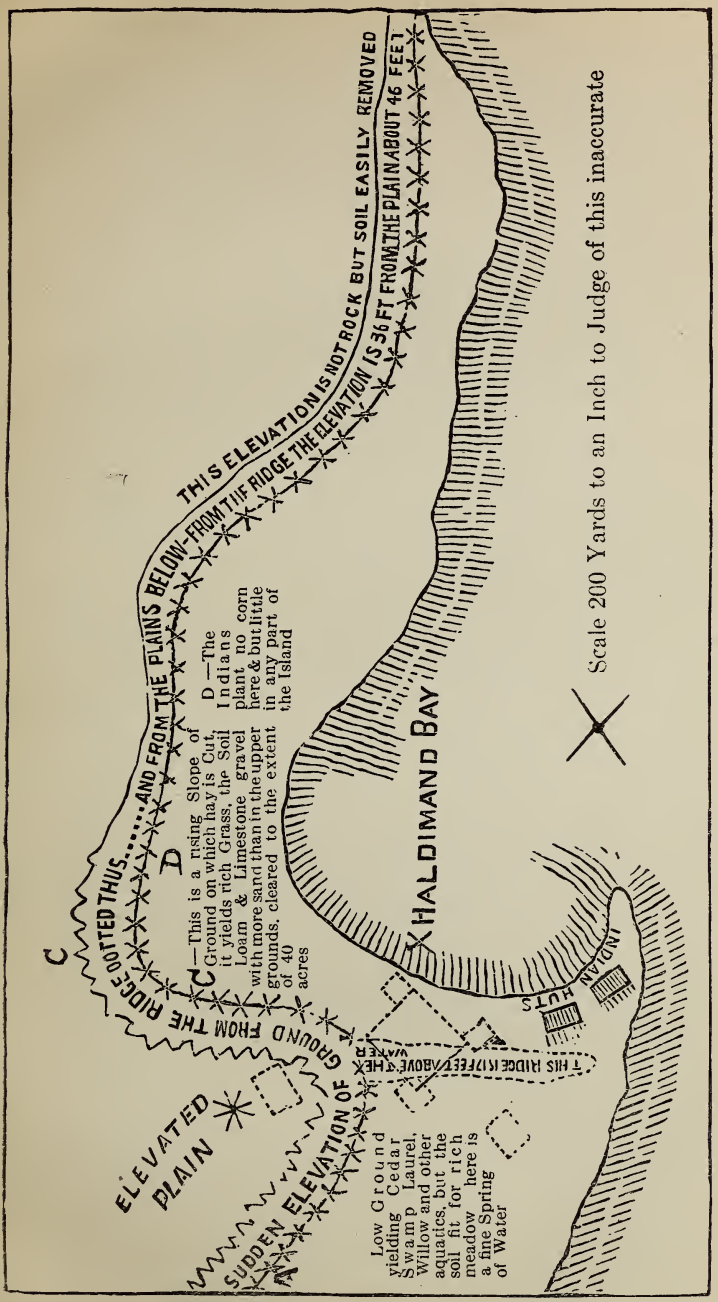
With these assurances he left Quebec the last of August, 1779, for his post, and arrived at Fort Mackinac October 4th, 1779, probably by way of the Ottawa River, four and one-half years after the date of his commission. He had crossed the ocean three times and while, until this date, he had not been able to exercise any authority under his commission, he had not neglected one important part of his duty, to draw his annual salary of £200.

Three days after his arrival, Major DePeyster left for Detroit, and Sinclair was free to examine his empire. The fort was on the mainland on the south side of the strait, and practically in the same condition as it existed in 1763 at the time of its capture by the Indians. It enclosed about two acres and the ramparts consisted solely of pickets driven into the ground. It was on the sand and so near the shore that the waves in time of storm dashed over the pickets. The practiced eye of Captain Sinclair at once noted its insecure condition, its inability to resist any attack but that of small arms, and that it could not afford protection to vessels. In a letter to Captain Brehm, aide to Governor Haldimand, written four days after his arrival, he suggested the removal of the fort to the Island of Michilimackinac, and pointed out at some length the many advantages which the island possessed in the way of easy construction of a defensible fort, the protection of vessels, and good building material "but for God's sake be careful in the choice of an engineer and don't send up one of your paper engineers fond of fine regular polygons."

In another letter to Brehm a week later, he returned to the subject and urged prompt action. "It is the most respectable situa-




PROPOSED OUTLINE OF FORT MACKINAC
(From a letter of Sinclair to Brehm. Mich. P. and H. Colls., IX, 529)


THIS ELEVATION IS NOT ROCK BUT SOIL EASILY REMOVED
AND FROM THE PLAINS BELOW—FROM THE RIDGE THE ELEVATION IS 36 FT FROM THE PLAIN ABOUT 46 FEET
C
RIDGE DOTTED THUS.....
D
D—This is a rising Slope of Ground on which hay is Cut, it yields rich Grass, the Soil Loam & Limestone gravel with more sand than in the upper grounds, cleared to the extent of 40 acres
D—The Indians plant no corn here & but little in any part of the Island
HALDIMAND BAY
INDIAN HUTS
Scale 200 Yards to an Inch to Judge of this inaccurate
ELEVATED PLAIN
SUDDEN ELEVATION OF GROUND FROM THE
THIS RIDGE IS 10 FEET ABOVE THE WATER
Low Ground yielding Cedar Swamp Laurel, Willow and other aquatics, but the soil fit for rich meadow here is a fine Spring of Water

SKETCH OF GENERAL CONDITIONS AT SITE OF PROPOSED FORT
(Accompanying a letter from Sinclair to Brehm. See Mich. P. and H. Colls., IX, 523 and X, opposite p. 390)

tion I ever saw, besides convenient for the subsistence of a Garrison, the safety of troops, traders and commerce."

Without waiting for authority from the Governor, which could not be expected to be received until the following Spring, Sinclair proceeded to set men at work on the island clearing, making shingles, pickets, etc. By February he had so much done that he set about moving the French Church over to the Island and persuaded the traders and Canadians—as the French were generally called—that the removal was not only desirable but certain.

In May, 1780, came the consent of the Governor to the change with the information that he had so much confidence in the Lieutenant Governor's engineering abilities that no other engineer would be sent. Sinclair soon found, however, that, with the limited means at his command in masons and artificers, it would not be possible to complete the new fort sufficiently to move into it during that season, and he accordingly took all steps to put the mainland fort into the best possible condition to repel attack which he feared might come from the "rebels"—friends and adherents of the United States—and their Indian friends.

In the meantime Sinclair had obtained the desired reinstatement in military rank, so he was prôperly styled the Commandant—as well as Lieutenant Governor,—thus uniting the military and civil powers of the post. It so happened that Capt. George McDougall of the 84th Regiment, had been for sometime anxious to sell out and retire on account of his health, but as he was an active and efficient officer, well liked by the Indians, the Governor was loath to permit him to go. However, in the Spring of 1780, on the representation of failing health, permission was granted him to sell out and Lieut. Patrick Sinclair became the purchaser and a Captain again in the British Army, his commission being dated from April 1, 1780.

Sinclair received notice of his appointment July 8, and it evidently was a source of much satisfaction to him as he signed his letters for a time "Patt. Sinclair, Capt. 84th Reg't & Lieut. Gov."

It was not long before an affair justified his insistence with Governor Haldimand upon the propriety and necessity of the provisions in Lord Germaine's letter. Captain Mompesson of the 8th Reg., then at Detroit, was ordered by Maj. DePeyster to take a part of his company to Mackinac to relieve a company of Grenadiers. Upon his arrival, Aug. 21st, 1780, he immediately refused to take orders from Sinclair and the next day issued a Regimental order that he expected obedience to his commands from the troops in the garrison. Both officers wrote at once to the Governor who

immediately decided that Captain Sinclair was in the right, that his former rank as Captain in the 15th Regiment had been preserved upon his leaving that regiment, and he therefore clearly outranked Captain Mompesson. The Governor in his letter to Sinclair about the matter added that he had at length obtained his Majesty's decision upon the disputed rank of Lieutenant Governors of the post; this decision was, in fact, merely a confirmation of Lord George Germaine's letter.

Another episode happened at this time not calculated to soothe a somewhat peppery disposition and one regardful of the dignity and authority of its owner. Capt. Alex Harrow, of the Schooner Welcome, arrived July 29th, 1780, and assumed, as superior in naval command, to give an order to Captain McKay, of the Felicity, which had been plying chiefly between the post and the Island. (Captain Harrow was a Scotchman who came to the Great Lakes in 1779 as an officer in the naval department and, in 1794, settled in St. Clair County on a large tract of land lying a short distance above Algonac and upon a part of which descendants of his are now living.) The Lieutenant Governor resented this interference with his own authority and, as both men were tenacious of their dignity, it resulted in Harrow being taken from his vessel and imprisoned in the fort. After confinement of a month or two the authority of Sinclair was confirmed by the Governor, and Harrow, through the good nature of Sinclair, who, though quick to anger, was equally quick to relent, was released and reinstated in command of his vessel.

The command of a post so distant and isolated as that of Mackinac was a severe test of the qualities of promptness, decision, judgment and tact, and an early opportunity displayed Sinclair's possession of the first two qualities in ample quantity. After France embraced the cause of the United States she endeavored to get Spain to do the same; but the latter, though aiding the Americans in many ways, including the sale of a large quantity of gunpowder at New Orleans, made no formal declaration of war until May 8, 1779. Lord Germaine either devised or adopted a plan to drive the Spanish out of Louisiana and on June 17, 1779, wrote General Haldimand, directing him in co-operation with Brigadier General Campbell to attack New Orleans and the other Spanish posts on the Mississippi River.

Haldimand issued a circular letter to the Governors of all the Western posts giving general instructions. This letter after passing from Colonel Bolton, at Niagara, to Major DePeyster, at Detroit, was forwarded by the latter Jan. 22, 1780, to Sinclair at Mackinac.

The day after its receipt Sinclair sent a war party to engage the Sioux Indians to proceed down the Mississippi River. He also ordered Mr. Hesse, a trader, but formerly in the army, to collect a force of Indians and supplies in Wisconsin for the same purpose. A few days later he dispatched a sergeant with Machiquawish, a noted Indian Chief, and his band. The combined force made an attack on St. Louis which was only partially successful, and the project, as a whole, was a failure, the result being to leave the district South of Lake Michigan and as far West as the Mississippi River in American control. Sinclair shows up, however, very favorably in the affair and, if the King had been as well served elsewhere, the result might have been very different.

The removal to the Island fort was made in the summer of 1781, although the fort was not entirely completed. When finally completed for occupation it contained four block houses, three of which are still standing; the fourth, which stood near the southeast corner was later removed. The walls have since been widened and raised, and the roadway from the lower town brought nearer to the face of the hill and parallel to it, and lengthened so as to reduce the grade. The officers' quarters within the enclosure stand where they were originally constructed and the guard house, built in 1835, is on the site of the one built by Sinclair. However, the general plan of the fort remains substantially the same today as when it was originally constructed 134 years ago, except that the North wall toward the West is brought in, thus contracting the enclosure by about one-fourth.

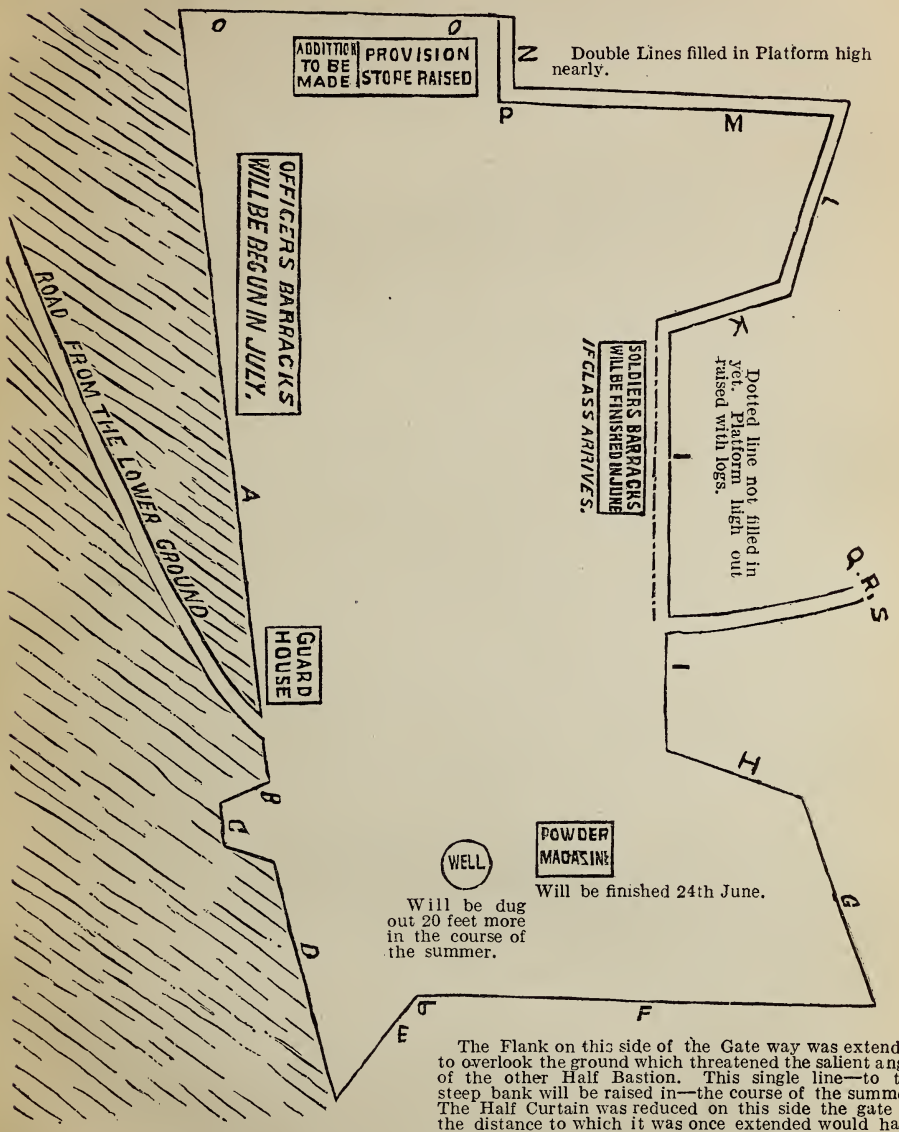
Sinclair proposed to call the new fort "Haldimand" after the Governor, but the latter decided that the fort should be called Fort "Makinac," and the post should be continued to be called Michilimackinac, thus indicating that the post, meaning the civil jurisdiction, was more extensive than the fort, which included only the garrison limits. The Governor's spelling of the name of the fort was never carried out but the name of the post continued as long as the British retained control. When they left and the Americans took possession, the post, as such, ceased, and both island and fort took the same name, Mackinac.

Sinclair, as a means of propitiating the Indians and securing their approval of removal to the Island, had negotiated with some of the Chiefs for a deed which he finally obtained in May, 1781. By this deed five Chiefs of the Chippewa nation relinquished to Lieutenant Governor Sinclair, for the behalf and use of the English King, the Island of Michilimackinac, and agreed to preserve in their village a belt of wampum seven feet in length to perpetuate

## FORT MICHILIMACKINAC

SKETCH OF THE FORT ON MICHILIMACKINAC ISLAND.

Temporary Lines of Pickets.




The Flank on this side of the Gate way was extended to overlook the ground which threatened the salient angle of the other Half Bastion. This single line—to the steep bank will be raised in—the course of the summer. The Half Curtain was reduced on this side the gate as the distance to which it was once extended would have exposed the Rampart to have been taken in reverse from the ground without opposite side of the Fort.

and be a lasting memorial of the transaction. The consideration was £5,000 New York currency (equal to $12,500). The deed was signed with the totems of the Chiefs, also by Patt. Sinclair, Lt. Gov'r & Commandant, Captain Mompesson, Lieutenant Brooke and Ensign McDonall, and witnessed by six of the resident traders.

The work of completing the fort went on slowly as the Commandant could not get the necessary workmen. Major Depeyster at Detroit was not feeling very friendly to Sinclair and when requested to send artificers reported that he could not spare any. In August, Brigadier General Powell was compelled to peremptorily order him to send up two carpenters. During the years of the construction of the fort an unusually large number of Indians came to Mackinac from all quarters to receive their annual presents from the British Government. Sioux, Menominies, Sacs, Foxes, Ottawas and Chippewas, Winebagoes and all other tribes between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and even beyond, had become accustomed to make an annual pilgrimage to Michilimackinac to meet the representative of their Great Father across the water and receive in return an outfit which would please their sense of display and enable them to support life until another season. The coming of the white man and the introduction of strong drink and fire arms had completely revolutionized the status of the Indians. From an independent self supporting people procuring their spare and difficult livelihood by the exercise of natural talents heightened by ever present necessity, they had become dependent for clothing and the means of obtaining food. No longer were their own developed weapons sufficient. They needed guns, powder and shot to kill the animals whose flesh gave them food and whose skins gave the furs the white man coveted and was willing to pay for.

The French had found it advantageous to give the Indians some presents to stimulate and maintain their friendship, but the English found it necessary to give far more. The French, by their willingness to live the life of the Indians, to intermarry with them, and by their understanding and appreciation of Indian nature, were naturally regarded as their friends, and in the long French and English war the sympathies of the Western Indians were with the former and Pontiac found it easy to obtain the adherence of the most of the tribes. When the English obtained possession of the western posts, they thought it wise to conciliate the Indians by presents, and as time went on the number of Indians who applied for gifts and the extent of their demands increased until it became appalling to the British authorities. An additional reason why, during the period of Governor Sinclair's station at Mackinac a

larger amount of presents was needed than in ordinary times was that, owing to the Revolutionary War, the English feared—and with good reason—that the French were, in the main, friendly to the Americans, and would use their influence with the Indians to turn the latter against the English. If this should happen all the Western posts would inevitably fall into the hands of the Americans.

The three posts on the lakes to which the Indians resorted in large numbers for supplies were Niagara, Detroit and Michilimackinac. One of the articles most in demand was rum and, as an illustration, it appears that there was consumed during the year from June, 1780, to June, 1781, at the three posts, 19,386 gallons of this article euphemistically called "milk" at the Indian pow wows. This does not include the large amount used and furnished by the traders.

The nature of other articles sent by the Government as presents can be seen from the return showing that in 1781 there was sent to Lieutenant Governor Sinclair for Indian presents, 991 pairs of blankets, mostly 2½ and 3 point, 102 dozen calico shirts, and 50 dozen linen ones, laced hats, feathers, looking glasses, knives, tomahawks, medals, needles and thread, axes, razors, brass and copper kettles, tobacco, powder, shot and guns, and a host of other minor articles.

It happened not infrequently that the supply of goods furnished by the government became low, or was very late in arriving at the post and, as the presents must be made when the Indians were there, the officers at the posts had been in the habit of buying from the traders such articles as they thought to be absolutely necessary. In consequence they often were compelled to pay high prices. These purchases as well as all other outlays were met by drafts drawn by the Lieutenant Governor upon the Governor General.

In order to prevent a further continuance of this practice and reduce, if possible, the great and increasing expenses of the Western posts, on June 22nd, 1781, Governor Haldimand issued orders that the officers at Niagara, Detroit and Michilimackinac should, on no account whatever, after receipt of the order, purchase liquors or any other articles whatever for the use of the Indians from the traders, and that no circumstances whatever would be admitted a reason for not complying with the order.

Lieutenant Governor Sinclair did not observe this order very closely, evidently believing that this order was only intended for ordinary occasions, and that, as he was on the ground, he was en-

titled to use his judgment, even if it resulted in violating orders made at a great distance.

During the years 1780, 1781, 1782 the new fort was under construction, and in 1781 Sinclair drew on the Governor General drafts to the amount of £43,000 New York currency, for the engineering works and £65,000 for the Indian Department. This was an increase over the preceding year of £18,000 in the latter and nearly £35,000 in the former, which, however, was probably not unexpected as much more work was done on the new fort in 1781 than in 1780. In 1782 the Lieutenant Governor drew for immense sums in both departments; in January one draft went forward for over £43,000 to be charged against the fort building, and to this no objection seems to have been made. On the same day, however, he drew £11,450 on account of Indian expenditures, and when this draft was presented to Haldimand he refused to accept it, and referred the accounts to Mr. Goddard, general storekeeper and inspector of Indian presents, with instructions to charge out all articles he might consider presents to the Indians. He later requested advice from his Attorney General upon the question whether he could legally pay part of the account, without acknowledging the whole. Apparently he was advised that he might safely pay part as he did pay over £9,000.

In April Sinclair drew drafts to the amount of £14,500 of which £9,500 was on account of the fort and was paid, and £5,000 for Indian expenditures which was paid in part. In July he drew for over £60,000 of which £40,000 was for the Indian department and the remainder for the Fort construction, about one-half of these drafts were accepted and the others refused and protested. Although the Commandant at Detroit was at the same time also drawing heavily—in 1781, £162,000 and in 1782, £66,000 nearly all of which was on Indian account—none of his bills were refused.

In August, 1782, Haldimand alarmed at these enormous expenditures, which were affecting his own standing with the authorities in London, appointed Lieut. Col. Henry Hope, Sir John Johnson, Superintendent of Indian affairs, and James S. Goddard, to go to Mackinac and examine into the situation. They arrived September 15th and found a number of irregularities. There evidently had been looseness and carelessness in the keeping and checking of accounts, and the instructions of Governor Haldimand had not been followed with regard to the purchase of articles from the traders. One of the perquisites which had been enjoyed and which though profitable to the Lieut. Governor, was detrimental to the public interests, was the reception by that official of presents from the Indians,

generally in the nature of furs which naturally called for increased presents to the Indians, paid for by the Government. It is apparent, however, that Sinclair's actions had some justification. Supplies ordered by him had not been sent, or were damaged in transit, or were so greatly delayed as not to arrive in time for distribution to the Indians, and the Commandant was obliged to choose between disappointing and alienating the Indians—a consequence of much importance until the Revolutionary War was ended—or purchase goods from the traders.

Most of these drafts which were objected to were drawn in favor of George McBeath to be used by him in the payment of the various traders who had furnished articles. McBeath had been sent up by Haldimand for the very purpose of taking charge of these expenditures and evidently thought them proper and necessary.

A few days after the arrival of the investigating board, Sinclair turned over the command of the post to Captain Robertson, the next ranking officer of the garrison, and left for Quebec arriving in October. The fort was not yet entirely completed. A careful survey made at the time by an engineer indicated the extent of the work done, and estimated that with 100 laborers and the necessary artificers, the fort could be put into a safe condition in about two months. As nearly $300,000 had then been spent upon its construction without serious objection by the English authorities it may be easily conceived that they regarded the post as of high importance.

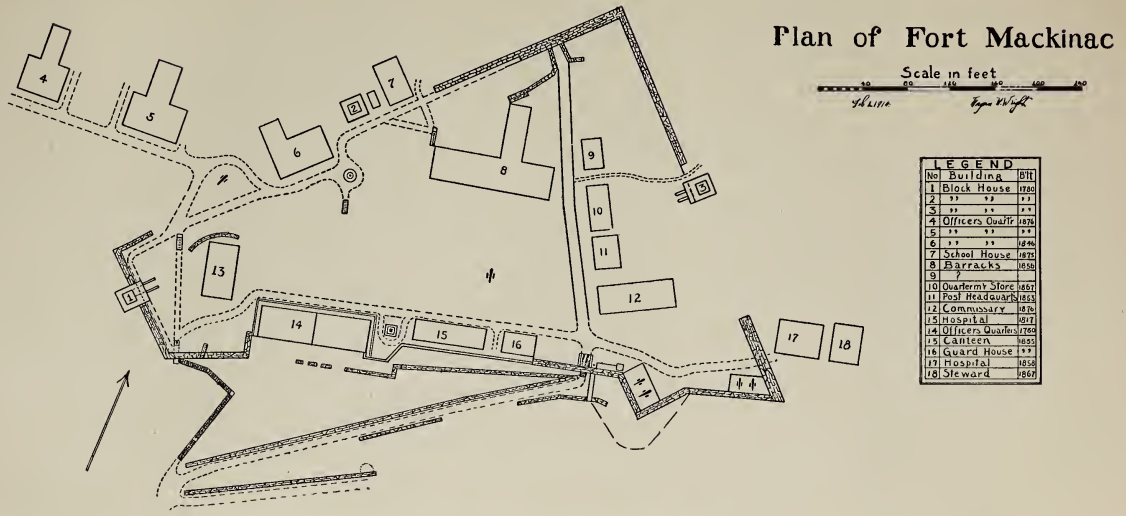
November 1st, Sinclair applied to Governor Haldimand for permission to go to Great Britain, which was refused on the ground that he was needed for the examination of his accounts. He then took up his residence on the Isle of Orleans, awaiting action on this matter, and there he remained until the fall of 1784, when he finally obtained the desired permission and left for England.

In the meantime Haldimand wrote in October, 1782, to the English Treasury stating what he had done and that he would investigate and report. In November, he followed this by an explanation of his reasons, which were, in the main, that Sinclair had acted contrary to the order of June, 1781, in buying Indian presents from the traders. He also promised to have the matter carefully looked into. A year went by without any action whatever and in October, 1783, Haldimand wrote the Treasury that he was waiting with great impatience for instructions. To this the Lords of the Treasury replied that he had failed to give them the information which he had promised, and which they needed before giving full instruc-

tions. In January, 1784, the Treasury received remonstrances from the merchants whose bills were unpaid, and they wrote Haldimand that such parts of the bills as represented articles furnished and labor performed should be paid for at the usual rates. In July, 1784, Haldimand wrote that he had offered £22,000 upon bills drawn for £57,000, and that his offer had been refused and he had been threatened with prosecution by the claimants.

In the meantime Sinclair was eating out his heart on the Isle of Orleans. Prevented from going to England and meeting his family and friends, feeling the hostility of the Governor General, receiving the frequent importunities of the unfortunate traders, who had parted with their goods, but had not received their money, it is not to be wondered at that he fell into a state of deep and settled melancholy, and that even to his best friends his faculties began to seem impaired. Representations were made to the Governor General and in August, 1784, he was allowed to return to England in company with Captain Erskine Hope and his wife, who was a connection of Sinclair. The trip and his surroundings and his friends and relatives in Scotland, where he at once repaired upon his arrival in England, restored his health. In November Haldimand himself left Canada for England, arriving at London in January, 1785. As soon as Sinclair heard of this he left at once for London determined to have his affairs settled, and arrived there February 28, 1785. He was delayed in meeting Haldimand, however, by being arrested at the suit of some of the holders of the protested Mackinac bills and thrown into Newgate prison, from which he was released on March 17th by his paying the bills. He immediately demanded of Haldimand that the latter repay the amount at once, or he would apply for a Court Martial. Apparently neither action was taken but early in April Haldimand was sued for £50,000 and he at once called upon the Government to defend him. In the following year the action was dismissed, and the claimants appealed to Government for their pay.

The result of this application is unknown but the standing of Sinclair with the English authorities does not seem to have been impaired by all these proceedings. While at Mackinac he had advanced in military rank, having become a Major in 1782. The next year his regiment, the 84th, was disbanded. His absence from his post as Lieut. Governor did not affect his title or his salary except the allowance which he drew as commanding officer. In August 1784, the Governor General was careful to impress upon Captain Robertson, then commanding at Mackinac, that his authority was merely in the absence of the Lieut. Governor.




FORT MACKINAC, 1914

See Vol. 10. P. 641-Mich. P. and H. Colls.

In October, 1793, Sinclair was made a Colonel. The post of Michilimackinac was transferred in June, 1796, to the Americans, and although Sinclair had not set foot in it since he left in August, 1782, he had continued to draw his yearly salary of £200 with great regularity. According to modern ideas this would have been an unjustifiable sinecure, but that was an age of sinecures and it was acknowledged that an office was a vested right of which no possessor should be deprived without the payment of compensation. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that in April, 1797, Colonel Sinclair, then in London, petitioned the Duke of Portland, Secretary of State, that as he had been at great pains in fortifying and defending the post of Michilimackinac, and his Majesty had found it expedient to give it up to the United States, he flattered himself that this action would not be prejudicial to him and that his salary might be transferred to the general establishment. This petition apparently seemed reasonable and his salary continued during the remainder of his life.

Not long after he was retired on half pay and withdrew to Lybster where he spent the remainder of his days.

Being still in line for promotion he was made a Major General, September 25th, 1803; he was made Lieut. General, July 25th, 1810, and at his death, which occurred January 31st, 1820, at the age of 84, he was the oldest officer of his rank in the British army.

From a consideration of all the evidence now available in the matter of the protested bills Sinclair was unfairly treated. Haldimand, although a good soldier, was a stubborn opinionated man whose training as a soldier inclined him to be overbearing and impatient of anything except the most exact obedience to his orders. In the face of the King's commission to Sinclair with the accompanying letter of Lord George Germaine, which made the Lieut. Governor the Commandant entitling him to outrank any officer under a Brigadier General, he refused to recognize any military authority in the position. Although admitting the great importance of placating the Western Indians, and having himself no personal knowledge of the difficulties of the situation, he thought his orders issued from a thousand miles away should be implicitly obeyed.

It is clear that Sinclair did not understand until the Board put in its appearance at Mackinac that he was doing anything more than the necessities of the situation required, in view of the fact that the government agencies were often so dilatory and neglectful as to leave the far distant post short or entirely lacking. From his reply to Haldimand's letter of June, 1781, it is apparent that he understood that his position as Lieut. Governor gave him

some discretion and this position was never contradicted by Haldimand. His good faith is manifest all through, and even if Haldimand were justified in claiming that Sinclair had acted in contravention of his orders, that furnished no excuse for not paying the traders who had, in good faith, furnished articles actually used by the government and ordered by a representative they had no reason to suspect.

It seems probable that in the end the government paid the bills, as in 1786 the Treasury at London called on Haldimand to furnish information why the bills had been protested, and to explain why he had continued McBeath at Mackinac in connection with Indian disbursements after he had repudiated his actions in connection with Sinclair.

Sinclair married Catherine Stuart, of Invernesshire, and had four sons and one daughter. Three sons died unmarried, and one married but left two daughters, who never married. His only lineal descendants are through the children of his daughter, Susan, who married David Laing, surgeon, of Thurso.

A full length silhouette of General Sinclair taken after he had retired from the army shows a large handsome man of imposing presence. Family tradition depicts him as an impulsive, warm hearted, as well as warm tempered individual, quick to resent and to punish, and equally quick to forgive; kindly and generous to dependents; philanthropic and helpful to the needy and improvident. He lived to the good old age of eighty-four and his thoughts must frequently have gone back to this Inland Empire in which nearly a decade of his life was spent, and in which he had wielded a wide influence, and had erected a monument still enduring. His name which was so closely connected with the early history of Michigan should be perpetuated and both Mackinac and St. Clair County should mark, by proper memorials, the name of Sinclair, as a most important one in their rolls of historic characters.

# THE WESTERN SKETCHES OF CAROLINE MATHILDA (STANSBURY) KIRKLAND

BY EDNA M. TWAMBLEY

# THE WESTERN SKETCHES OF CAROLINE MATHILDA (STANSBURY) KIRKLAND

BY EDNA M. TWAMLEY.

## I.

THE judgment of contemporary critics is seldom final; a multitude of authors who were extolled in their own day are quite unknown at present. Time passes on to posterity only the culled names of a chosen few, and many an author who did creditable work toward exalting the literary ideals of his own age, occupies the humble and obscure station of being merely a block in the foundation upon which others have built more gloriously. This is notably true of the most prolific period that American literature has yet seen. Scores of able writers are completely shadowed by the over-towering genius of their brilliant contemporaries in the Cambridge and the Concord groups.

Among these worthy minor authors is Caroline Mathilda Stansbury Kirkland, one of the most intellectual women of her time—a woman of rare personality and of great nobility of character. Her works, so highly exalted by the critics of 1839-'61 are quite unknown today. Granting that half a century forms a sufficient vista of years through which to see an author's work in true perspective, it is the purpose of this paper to examine the works of Mrs. Kirkland with the idea of determining their ultimate value, and to give the author due credit for her share in opening up the great theme of western realistic fiction.

In order to appreciate the position occupied by Mrs. Kirkland in the progress and development of this phase of our literature, it is necessary to discover the place she occupied in her own period, to look at her works in the light of their own environment, and to note the criticisms passed upon their author by her own contemporaries.

The imagination finds an enticing field in which to wander as it

[1] Edna M. Twamley was born in St. Paul, Minnesota; she went to Grand Forks, North Dakota when a child; was educated at Grand Forks High School, North Dakota University, the University of Minnesota (B. A. 1902), and Columbia University (M. A.). She is now in charge of the English department of the Grand Forks High School. The paper on Mrs. Kirkland was prepared as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts at Columbia University at the suggestion of Professor W. P. Trent.

contemplates literary New York of fifty years ago. Murray Hill, Irving Place, and Washington Square were the haunts of men and women whose names are familiar throughout our literary world. Miss Anne Lynch who became the wife of Vincenzo Botta, professor of Latin literature in the University of New York, held weekly receptions for nearly half a century; she hospitably received the devotees of arts and letters, and by her own refinement and culture she gathered about her a group that compared favorably with the Boston Saturday Club. These receptions formed the nearest approach to a *salon* that this country has ever seen. One of Miss Lynch's most intimate friends was Mrs. Kirkland, who often assisted at these *conversaziones* and sought to introduce worthy authors whom she discovered. She was especially fitted for this tactful office for she was a woman of social grace, ready sympathy, brilliant wit, and we are told that her "countenance beamed with benevolence and intellect." Edgar Allan Poe was a frequent visitor at the Lynch home, as was also Margaret Fuller, who at that time was the literary editor of the New York Tribune, edited by Horace Greeley. There the young poet Stoddard met Elizabeth Barstow. Longfellow, Emerson, Lowell and Dana lectured frequently in New York; the dainty Willis, amusing yet charming by his elegant manners, was a prominent figure; the courtly, gentle and genial Irving, although abroad for a great part of this period, returned bearing with him the rich treasures of his foreign residence in the Alhambra and among the legend-haunted regions of England. From certain references in her informal essays and from comments found in the periodicals, it is doubtless true that the work of Mrs. Kirkland was familiar to all of her famous contemporaries, but most frequent and cordial criticism is accorded her by William Cullen Bryant, Bayard Taylor, C. F. Hoffman, the Duyckinck Brothers and Edgar Allan Poe.

In searching the magazines of the period for comment on the books that comprise the western sketches ("A New Home—Who'll Follow?" 1839; "Forest Life," 1842; "Western Clearings," 1845) various criticisms were discovered from which the following have been selected as typical:

In the *Knickerbocker Magazine* edited by Hoffman for November, 1839 we find this appreciation of "A New Home"—

Unhesitating, with impression from its perusal fresh upon us do we pronounce this unpretending volume one of the most natural, pleasant and entertaining books that we have read for a twelvemonth. The writer is an accomplished lady, evidently of high even scholastic attainments, who after enjoying from childhood the ad-

vantages and refinements of polished life removes to the wilds of Michigan. With a hearty perception of the beauties of nature, and power to depict them, with a keen eye for the ridiculous and a ready appreciation of the burlesque—and with a remarkable knowledge of character, it is not surprising that our author should have written an amusing volume.

Similar criticisms were passed upon this work when it appeared in London under the title of "Montacute."

The editor of *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal* said when "Western Clearings" came out:

The perfect originality and freshness of life as it exists in the back States insures that almost any account of it should be worth listening to, but in the present case we have it handled by one of the acuter class of female minds, one with much literary dexterity, and an unusually keen eye for the ludicrous, so that 'Western Clearings" is really a very presentable treatise. The fêtes, dancing meetings and other hospitalities of the clusters of half-civilized yet not unkindly people of these wildernesses are sketched with a particularly free and lively pencil.

The *Evening Post* for April 6, 1864 announces the sudden death of Mrs. Kirkland and after giving a brief biographical sketch the editor comments upon the works as follows:

"A New Home," which was a record of her own experiences was written with such freshness and vivacity as to gain her at once a high and almost world-wide reputation. Mrs. Kirkland was among the most original and vigorous of all our female authors; her sketches of western life have never been surpassed for fidelity of detail and liveliness of humor. * * * During her residence in New York she gathered about her the most eminent men and women of the Metropolis, divines, authors, artists, etc.

Perhaps the most interesting criticism of all is that given by Edgar Allan Poe in his *Literati.* He says:

Mrs. Kirkland's "New Home" published under the *nom de plume* of "Mary Clavers" wrought an undoubted sensation * * * To Mrs. Kirkland alone we are indebted for our acquaintance with the home life of the backwoodsman * * * With a fidelity and a vigor that prove her pictures to be taken from the very life, she has represented scenes that could have occurred only as and where she has described them. * * * Unquestionably she is one of our best writers, has a province of her own, and in that province has few equals. Her most noticeable trait is a certain freshness of style, seemingly drawn as her subjects in general, from the West. In the second place is to be observed a species of wit approximating humor and so interspersed with pure fun that wit after all, is nothing like a definition. Her perceptive faculties enable her to describe with great verisimilitude. Her mere style is admirable, lucid, terse, full of variety faultlessly pure and yet bold, so bold as

to appear heedless of the ordinary decorations of composition. In even her most reckless sentences, however, she betrays the woman of refinement, of accomplishment, of unusually thorough education.

## II.

Caroline M. Stansbury was born in New York in 1801. Her father was a bookseller and publisher and her grandfather was well known as the author of humorous verse concerning the events of the Revolution. She received a thorough training in the languages and literature both ancient and modern. In early womanhood she married Professor Kirkland, of Hamilton College. At their home in Western New York they heard many tales of the wonderful possibilities of the new parts of the country and in 1839 they moved to Michigan. They lived in Detroit two years and spent six months in the interior, about sixty miles northwest of Detroit. In 1842 they returned to New York where Mrs. Kirkland opened a private school for girls; she also became a prolific contributor to the magazines of the day, and at the same time she published several books. She became deeply interested in various phases of practical sociology and the last years of her life were devoted to philanthropic work.

From this we see that the western sketches were the literary results of only a brief period of two and one-half years. In order to gain a better understanding of the quality of the author's mind and to appreciate more fully the nature of this woman, who for a brief period shared the life of the Michigan pioneer, it may be well to examine her other literary attempts in different fields, all of which were published after her return to New York.

We find she was a recognized author of many books of varied nature. She undertook literary criticism to some extent. Being an ardent admirer of Spenser she edited the first two books of the "Fairy Queen" and "Americanized" the text. In her warm admiration for the "Poet's poet" she shows her own mental kinship and reveals her own character in her hearty appreciation of the high moral tone of Spenser. She herself wrote at least three books entirely devoted to manners and morals, but in all of her works she exhibited the highest regard for the noble, upright, severely ethical life. Through every page of the essay on Spenser runs the warm enthusiasm that reveals the genuine admirer. She shows her wide acquaintance with authors as she quotes most aptly from Latin as well as from English literature.

"The Helping Hand," a work typical of her practical philanthropy, is a hearty appeal in behalf of released female convicts. The book

has nothing especial to commend it from the literary view point, but it reveals the noble generosity of spirit and the genuine womanly sympathy of the writer.

Except for the biographical facts interspersed in the critical essays concerning Spenser and Bryant, Mrs. Kirkland attempted no biography, with the exception of a life of Washington, a plain straightforward account of the life of the hero, but bearing the marks of having been written to order. She acknowledges that it is a condensation of Sparks' history. She is rather too fond of anecdotes that illustrate the severer side of Washington's character, inasmuch as that great man already appears to the younger generation, at least, to be somewhat coldly aloof.

She writes more happily in "Holidays Abroad; or Europe seen from the West," although the different parts of the book are of unequal merit. Her chief fault is pursuing what the psychologists designate "total recall," elaborate and unwarranted diffusiveness. She chooses a form that relieves her of all structural plan, by writing a brief sketch on each place visited; as, Liverpool, Chester, Oxford, London, Paris, etc. We note the wit for which she was so highly commended by her contemporaries coming to the surface at intervals. To the "genus courier" she cleverly and amusingly applies Charles Lamb's "ingenious accumulation of metaphors suggested by the contemplation of a poor relation." The two volumes of that work are characterized by the leisurely style so prevalent in the works of the preceding century.

Mrs. Kirkland's editorship of the *Union Magazine* continued only eighteen months and very little of this periodical is available now. In its pages we find stories and poems by the best authors of the day. The brevity of its life may have been due to its ethereal purpose, devotion to "literature and art." It has ever been difficult to secure a wide circulation for so ideal a publication.

As was said before, all of these works were published after Mrs. Kirkland's sojourn in the wilds of Michigan. She is an example of that type of author whose first, fine, careless rapture is the best. She established her reputation on the Western sketches and subsequently maintained it by miscellaneous contributions.

## III.

As it is with the Western sketches only that this paper is to deal, it will be necessary to consider these in detail in order to discover the characteristics of the material Mrs. Kirkland used, and her method of presenting it, and in order to ascertain their ultimate

value in the development of realistic fiction. They will be taken up in the order of their publication. The author may have been doubtful of the reception that would be given her first effort; she may have feared the resentment of her Michigan neighbors if they should discover that she had portrayed their idiosyncrasies; whatever the reason may have been she brought out "A New Home—Who'll Follow?" under the pen name of "Mrs. Mary Clavers." This seems to have been the only time that she used this or any *nom de plume.*

In the preface she declares: "I claim for these straggling and cloudy crayon-sketches of life and manners in the remoter parts of Michigan the merit of general truth of outline. I felt somewhat tempted to set forth my little book as a veritable history, an unimpeachable transcript of reality; a rough picture in detached parts, but pentagraphed from the life. But conscience prevailed, and I must honestly confess that there be glosses, and colorings and lights if not shadows for which the author is alone accountable."

There is no greater inspiration to write than the surety of having an interested reader. Many an author has discovered his power through a happy response to the demands of his friends for letters. This seems to have been Mrs. Kirkland's first impetus. Separated from all the brilliant coterie she had associated with in the East, thrust into the companionship of the illiterate frontiersman, she found real delight in the letter as a means of sharing with her friends the interesting novelty of her situation. Finally, as a result of this practice, she determined to attempt a continuous narrative.

Realizing that the chief theme of former western literature had been adventures with wild beasts and Indians, she gives fair warning to her reader that this is not to be expected in her book. She reminds us inevitably of Jane Austen and her literary purpose; of Washington Irving's refusal to make great promise in his leisurely introduction to "Bracebridge Hall." She repeats what she has said in the preface as she warns her reader not to expect anything beyond a "meandering recital of commonplace occurrences, mere gossip about every day people, little enhanced in value by any fancy or ingenuity of the writer." She will tell of a home on the outskirts of civilization, where people "breakfast with the chickens and are ready for bed at eight." She realizes the fertility of her realistic theme and longs for the gift of Miss Mitford.

There is something charming about this simple, straightforward declaration. It immediately identifies the author with all the subsequent writers of realistic fiction and gives her a place among the pioneers.

We are not told how Professor and Mrs. Kirkland were brought to share the excitement of the time over city-building in Michigan; we hear that two hundred acres have been bought, that a village has been planned and the family are on their way to the new home. To any one familiar with the rough life of a new country this must seem like an odd move for a college professor and his wife. Imagine people used to the learned lectures of Longfellow and of Lowell suddenly reduced to the harangues of "Simeon Jenkins;" from the exalted conversation of Margaret Fuller to be restricted to the neighborhood gossip of "Campaspe Nippers;" from the pavements of bright Broadway, to the glutinous depths of the Michigan mud-holes! From the comforts of well-ordered homes, good food and healthful environment, to log-huts, salt pork and the terrors of the ague!

Yet to this sudden and complete change in environment does Mrs. Kirkland owe much. It is doubtful if her latent power might ever have been as thoroughly aroused had she remained in New York, as it was by this removal to the Michigan forest. This experience proved to be a violent stimulus to her sense of dramatic contrast; it enlivened her naturally keen perceptions, and the result is that the three books of western sketches excel all else she wrote in originality, vigor and excellence of characterization.

In order to reach their destination, the site of the new village, Mr. and Mrs. Kirkland are obliged to drive for three days over the marshy country through miles and miles of monotonous "oak-openings." Let us note Mrs. Kirkland's selection of the "characteristic features" of the new country and her manner of presenting them to her reader. Very early in the sketches we discover Mrs. Kirkland's great love of natural beauty. The many varieties of Michigan wild-flowers bring her exuberant delight; her appreciation of the grandeur of the patriarchs of the Michigan forest show her to have Lowell's fondness for fine trees. Many a time does she plead for the preservation of some of these "Banquos of the forest" when she discovers that the ideal of the Michigan pioneer is to make the "clearing" complete. Surely an ardent love of nature is one of the greatest aids to exalt the hard life of the pioneer.

In addition to this Mrs. Kirkland is blessed with a natural cheerfulness of disposition which rarely fails; linked with it is a sense of humor which brings her endless delight. She has the happy faculty of amusing herself by discovering the ridiculous side of many an uncomfortable situation; she can see the ludicrous eccentricities in her neighbors, yet her natural kindness of heart never permits her to be satiric where she can discover the least evi-

dence of true worth. These qualities, with the addition of fortitude and enduring philosophy make her the finest type of pioneer woman. All of these personal characteristics combine to give us her pleasing manner of presentation.

Naturally the first thing she noted in the new country was the utter lack of ordinary conveniences. The cramped little log-houses, barely large enough to shelter a small family are made to accommodate large parties of land-seekers. A perilous journey up the narrow "sick-ladder" into the dingy and airless loft reveals innumerable beds spread upon the floor; the little "iron skillet" on a bench under a tree is the only facility provided to enable the entire family, guests included, to "perform their limited ablutions;" the coarse fare is composed of the inevitable salt-pork and potatoes; one must go a long distance for lumber and the roads are almost impassable.

Surely there must have been something of the Stoic in the Kirklands or after their first reconnoiter they would have returned to New York. But after a long journey to look over the site of the new village, they return to Detroit to get their children and their household goods. The journey with the heavily loaded wagon and the weary children is more tedious than the first, but Mrs. Kirkland's natural fortitude enables her to endure it well. Only once do we hear any complaint and that is when the entire load, still upright however, is precipitated into one of the ubiquitous Michigan mud-holes. One horse finally breaks away and escapes, and there the mother and children are obliged to sit in the glaring sun for three hours until help comes to rescue them.

Mrs. Kirkland gives an excellent description of the usual methods employed by the professional land speculator. To any one familiar with the opening of any part of a new country her account will appear as a "transcript of reality" for this wildly imaginative and usually unscrupulous individual is always to be found on any promising frontier.

Mr. Mazard was the exceedingly alert and "unselfish" assistant of Professor Kirkland. He had had "extensive experience" in city building and was therefore employed to build the mill, the tavern, the store, the blacksmith shop, etc. When all this was planned it was necessary to select a name for the enterprising city to come. Mr. Mazard tactfully desired to immortalize the proprietor by naming it after him, but as this suggestion was not well received, the matter was referred to the proprietor's wife. She begged for time to consider, but that could not be granted for the village plot was

to be drawn instantly—lithographed and circulated throughout the United States, and to cap the climax, printed in gold, splendidly framed, and hung up in Detroit in the place where merchants most do congregate. Unfortunately for truth, an Indian name innocently suggested was rejected as signifying "Big Bubble." At length ten names chosen from novels read were shaken in a hat and out came "Montacute." As there is no Montacute on the map of Michigan today one prefers to think that Mrs. Kirkland used her fiction-prerogative rather than to suppose that the town fostered by the professor from Hamilton College died the death of many similarly originated.

Considering the fact that the search for land and city-sites was the all-absorbing occupation of those newly arrived in Michigan, it may be allowable to give in detail the account of the experience of a party of land-seekers from Detroit whom Mr. Kirkland accompanied, having nothing better to do while he was obliged to wait in Detroit for the arrival of his household effects.

This selection is chosen both because of the characteristic theme and because of Mrs. Kirkland's interesting and realistic description. She says: "The party were absent just four days, and a more dismal sight than they presented on their return cannot well be imagined. Tired and dirty, cross and hungry were they all. No talk of adventures, no boasting of achievements, not even a breath of the talismanic word 'land' more interesting to the speculator of 1825-6 than it ever was to the ship-wrecked mariner. They seemed as if they would, Esau-like, have sold their city lots for a good supper. * * * Finally, after supper when the bath and the razor had produced their 'humanizing effect' 'Mrs. Clavers' gleaned the story of their long and tiresome journey through the marshes, their spending the night at a log-cabin, where a fire was made on the ground or floor, under a hole in the roof. The next day, as they pursued their journey the guide showed them six different points, each of which the owners were fully satisfied, would one day echo the busy tread of thousands." Their spirits were somewhat depressed by the appearance of the marshes but no one dared to express any such feelings. They passed the night at the home of a French trader, and though they were greatly disturbed in the night by the Indians coming for whiskey, they felt rested in the morning. Their spirits arose under the influence of a beautiful day and when they reached the spot chosen by the guide it was very easy to see how the "channel of the Shark could be deepened, the marshes drained and the whole converted into one broad area on which to

found a second New York." They called the place the "Grand Junction" and the "bargain" for its purchase was soon completed. "Only one hundred shares at three hundred dollars each, the money might be quadrupled in a month." Nobody happened to mention to those eastern buyers that the whole had been purchased for four hundred dollars just a week before they reached Detroit* * * "When lots were to be sold, the whole fair dream was splendidly emblazoned on a sheet of super-royal size; things which floated only before the mind's eye of the most sanguine were portrayed with bewitching minuteness for the delectation of the ordinary observer. Majestic steamers plied their paddles to and fro upon the river; ladies were crowding the decks and streamers were floating in the wind. Sloops dotted the harbors, while noble ships were seen in the offing. Mills, factories, and light-houses, canals, railroads and bridges all took their appropriate positions. Then came the advertisements choicely worded and carefully vague, never setting forth anything that might not come true at some time or other; yet leaving the buyer without excuse if he chose to be taken in."

Mrs. Kirkland reminds the reader that this procedure did not characterize every land sale. Thousands of acres changed hands so rapidly and so successfully that she was reminded of the old game "Robin's Alive"—all gained save him in whose hand Robin died. Any old settler in the West today would recognize this as an absolutely true and vivid description of a common practice.

## IV

Returning to the narrative that recounts the progress of the Kirklands, we find them uncomfortably lodged with the Ketchum family, impatiently waiting till they might enter their own log house. Their frame house would not be ready for several months. Added to the discomforts of a leaky roof, close quarters and coarse fare was the fact that the children of the two families did not agree. As an example of Mrs. Kirkland's usual happy method of narrating disagreeable experiences the following is quoted: "The two races commingled not without loud and long effervescence, threatening at times nothing short of a Kelkenny cat battle, ending in mutual extermination. My office, on these occasions was an humble imitation of the plan of the celestials in ancient times; to snatch away the combatant in whom I was most interested, and then to secrete him for a while, using as a desert island one of the beds in the loft, where the unfortunate had to dree a weary penance, and generally came down quite tame."

But even when they are fortunate enough to leave this tumultuous household, new difficulties quite as exasperating arise. With three small children to care for, and with the drudgery of getting settled in a new home sadly in need of the "tutelary aid of the goddess of scrubbing brushes," Mrs. Kirkland was extremely anxious to obtain "help." Here she encounters what seems then to have been another "characteristic feature" of the new country. It is amusing to discover the old servant problem of the present day so huge with difficulties in 1839. Mrs. Kirkland's eastern friends had assured her that she could easily get some of the farmer's daughters to assist her, but they had not understood the strength of the spirit of foolish democracy existing in the West. The girls of the neighborhood might enter domestic service long enough to earn money for the purchase of a new article of dress, or to help with the family expenses in case some member had been ill and there were doctor's bills to pay, but it was always with the air of favor conferred. They bore the air of a "captive princess" and expressed their desire to accompany the family on "tea visits" and to share the companionship of guests from the city. Finally, through the aid of Mr. Jennings, a neighbor who condescended to offer his services for a liberal compensation, one of these accommodating young women was secured for Mrs. Kirkland. She was "a rosy-haired Phillida who rejoiced in the enphonius appellation of Angeline." She made herself entirely at home after the manner of her kind; but after a few experiences of this sort, Mrs. Kirkland evolved some happy plan whereby she had little difficulty in securing and retaining a maid. Her ingenuity, tact and common-sense united with a certain cheerful acceptance of a situation as she found it in a new country helped her to solve her problem. Many eastern people who came later were not so fortunate, and the "help question" comes up again and again throughout the sketches. Everywhere it is treated in playful humor, but the real difficulties are never disguised. This part of Mrs. Kirkland's sketches would appeal to anyone who has had the experience of hiring "help" on a western farm. The foolish independence of very needy families, the unlimited privileges demanded by those who condescend to "help you out," the unbearable impertinence that must sometimes be endured, have established a condition that has caused many a person to abandon the farm life. Should anyone doubt that Mrs. Kirkland was an actual settler these stories that deal with the help problem ought to be sufficient to "establish her residence" as they say in claim language.

Due to the innumerable marshes and the undrained condition of the country generally the ague was so prevalent in 1839 that it was

looked upon as a "characteristic feature" of Michigan. Often a whole family would be prostrated at once—left entirely to the kind administrations of their sympathetic neighbors. The Kirkland family were not exempt. One after another succumbed to the "superlatively doleful" disease. Mrs. Kirkland says: "When matters reached this pitch—when we had literally no one to prepare food or look after the chidren our physician proved our good genius." They were then so well cared for, that their condition could not be considered as typical. The forlorn Titmouse family described later seem to represent a situation only too common among the poor.

As the disease was never fatal Mrs. Kirkland describes its attacks with her usual mildly humorous manner. References to the ague recur throughout the sketches with the frequency of a prominent character.

As Mrs. Kirkland has warned us not to expect consecutive narrative or coherent arrangement in her sketches, and as it is very evident to any reader that she makes little effort to secure either, obviously it is the inevitable course of any attempted criticism of her work, to follow her in her wanderings, choosing characteristic selections from her sketches and bearing in mind the threefold purpose of this paper—to examine her material used, her method of presenting that material, and to attempt to discover her place in the development of the realistic fiction of the West.

After the personal experiences in establishing themselves in their new home have been given, and general features of the new country have been noted, the Kirklands enter into the life of the community. Mrs. Kirkland's alert and eager mind discovers many an interesting character, and picks up many a life story of the Michigan pioneer. The general background for these descriptions and narratives is the easy, chatty informal essay on manners and customs in Michigan.

She comments on the inveterate habit of borrowing in the new country. All moveable possessions "run about as if on legs." The very fact that one owns more implements or has industriously secured more wholesome food for his family is considered reason enough why he should lend and share all he has. On account of the mutual dependence of neighbors in this isolated place far from supplies, it is never safe to refuse. But after Mrs. Kirkland has humorously told of the extensive demands made upon her in this respect, with characteristic acknowledgment of her "besetting sin" she declares she did not intend to write a chapter on "involuntary loans" for she has a story to tell. Then follows the amusing descrip-

tion of Doubleday. There is nothing unique in the situation she describes. Authors have ever been fond of linking a gentle, forbearing man with a sharp-voiced termagant; authors have also been fond of showing the regenerating and mellowing influence of a little child, but the character of Philo Doubleday "the long, awkward, honest, hard-working Maine man" who was to his wife as "oil-cruet to vinegar bottle" is certainly unique. Though the sketch is brief the character stands out with pleasing prominence. The one quality that gives him this individuality is his ability to rhyme on the instant. No matter what trying circumstance may call forth the harsh invective of his wife, he is ever ready with "his favorite mode of vengeance—poetical justice as he calls it." Choosing a sample of Philo's art the following is quoted:

> Sometimes these poeticals came to the aid of poor Betsy (the maid of all work) as once, on hearing a crash in the little shanty-kitchen, Mrs. Doubleday called in her shrillest tone.
> "Betsy! what on earth's the matter?"
> Poor Betsy, knowing what was coming answered in a deprecatory whine; "The cow's kicked over the buckwheat batter!" When the clear, hilarious voice of Philo from the yard where he was chopping instantly completed the triplet.
> "Take up the pieces and throw 'em at her!"
> This time Mrs. Doubleday laughed and the "fusilade" was averted.

In addition to the unique quality of the character of Mr. Doubleday, the sketch is commendable as a very fair little story built up almost entirely by personal characterizations placed in pleasing contrast.

Mrs. Kirkland inserts a chapter on gardening that is evidently for the practical guidance of those who might come to the new country. She has discovered what will grow and thrive in Michigan and she hastens to inspire a love of natural beauty in her utilitarian neighbors. She pleads for the cultivation of hyacinths, roses and shrubs and also for a vegetable garden to supply the table with more palatable fare. She is enthusiastic in the praise of Michigan soil and finds that a wise use of the natural resources will bring comfort and even luxury to the settler.

## V.

One of the best narratives in "A New Home—Who'll Follow?" concerns the Beckworth family. The author's usual method of introducing a story is employed here. Mrs. Kirkland and her congenial neighbor Mrs. Rivers had gone on a long horseback ride to explore the new settlement of Tinkerville, already thriving and

populous, according to the advertising bulletins. When they arrived and rode through the "village" without distinguishing it from the wide, untrammeled Michigan forest they were directed to a road leading back to Montacute that would be less lonely than that by which they had come. Filled with great admiration for the grandeur of the primitive wood, and delighted with the variety of wild birds, they were unaware of the approach of a storm until the rain began to fall heavily. They sought shelter at a farmhouse "that looked like a castle of Massachusetts or Western New York dropped par hazard in these remote wilds." The large barn, the wide fields of grain, the flowery door-yard all spoke of the industry and thrift of the owner. They were received with the usual warmth of Michigan hospitality. They mentioned their search for Tinkerville to Mr. Beckworth, the owner of the place who laughed and said he thought it would be a long time before the dreams of the proprietors would be realized. He said he had been well acquainted with one of the Tinkerville promoters, Mr. Jephson, since he was a boy and at this remark he cast a sly glance toward his wife.

When the travellers were ready to leave, Mr. Beckworth politely offered to "see them safely a part of the way," and in the manner of the Canterbury Tales he told his story as he rode. As this tale is to represent Mrs. Kirkland's narrative ability it will be necessary to give a brief synopsis of it.

Henry Beckworth, the son of a poor Massachusetts farmer fell in love with his fair cousin, Agnes Irving. On account of the poverty of both families marriage could not be thought of, but in order to assist Agnes financially he slipped away to sea, leaving a letter in the care of a companion on the voyage—a friend who declared his intention of returning "direct" to the home village. In the letter was a sincere request that Agnes should use his earnings left at a certain place subject to her order, for the support of her invalid mother. He had not trusted himself to tell her of his plans when last he saw her, but had merely said that she would soon hear from him.

When he returned three years later he found his earnings untouched. When the stage brought him to the public house, he sought out Job Jephson, the man with whom he had left the letter, and eagerly inquired for Agnes Irving. To his surprise he discovered that she had been married three months. Jephson then gave him an account of the hard times Agnes had seen since his departure and how she had finally yielded to the desire of John Harrington and had married him. When Henry Beckworth asked

Jephson if he had given Agnes his letter he drawled out a long explanation. He had not returned home when he had expected to, but had gone on a long journey south. When he finally reached Longton (the home village) it was quite cold weather and he changed his coat without ever thinking of the letter. When he found it again Agnes was getting ready to be married, so fearing the content of the letter might "break off the match" he "just locked up the letter and said nothing to nobody."

Finally after a proper exhibition of righteous anger Henry crept through the rain to the house of John Harrington, whom Agnes had married. In the wet shrubbery he waited, hoping to get one glimpse of the object of his affection and long devotion. The cheerful light showed a comfortable enticing interior, but at last he was obliged to leave unsatisfied. His feelings were so intense he could not remain in Langton, so with the brave spirit of Enoch Arden renunciation he went back to sea.

After a long and difficult cruise beset with many misfortunes, he arrived in New York once more. From a townsman he learned that Agnes was a poor widow. He hurried to Langton. He was extremely curt to Job Jephson, but Job didn't take any notice of the repellant air of the new arrival and rambled on, volunteering information. He declared that Henry had come too late before; now he came too soon. Agnes had been a widow two years and now was about to marry Colonel Boon, one of the most upright and wealthy men of Langton. Poor Henry Beckworth measured himself and his possessions beside such an excellent combination of character and riches. In the first respect he might compare very favorably, but, on account of the misfortunes of the last voyage he was almost penniless. On account of his deep affection for Agnes, after a long night of struggle he determined to leave Langton forever.

After five years of whaling voyages he reached his native shore once more "richer than he had ever been in his life." Again he heard that Agnes was "unmated" as the Colonel had been killed by a fall from his horse. This time he determined to see Agnes herself. With many misgivings he went to Langton resolving to avoid Job Jephson, but that ubiquitous individual was along the road and again volunteered information. Job tried to stop his progress but this time he was unsuccessful.

After receiving explanations yet with much reluctance to marry again, Agnes finally consented to honor this old lover's life long devotion. He took her and her two children to Michigan where they lived, the happy objects of his care and affection.

With characteristic affirmation, Mrs. Kirkland declares: "Let

none imagine that this tale of man's constancy must be the mere dream of my fancy." She received the story from Henry Beckworth himself and all she has done is to record it.

It will readily be seen that this story is nothing but an elaborate character study where the incidents mentioned all tend with great uniformity to show the rare unselfishness and the life-long devotion of Henry Beckworth. This narrative follows such an inevitable order of sequence that the story exhibits far better structure than we often find in the work of this author. Job Jephson serves a useful purpose. Besides adding a touch of humor and giving us the foundation for the "plot" by his failure to deliver the letter, he serves to link the different periods of time by his droll and provoking announcements. For a character briefly described Mrs. Kirkland has succeeded remarkably well in giving us a clear, well-defined picture of a man incredulously irresponsible and utterly incapable of appreciating the magnitude of his neglect. For a story where the outcome is known from the beginning the interest is exceedingly well sustained.

If this may be considered as typical of the Kirkland story it will be seen that in narrative, the author departs from her avowedly realistic purpose. Her declaration that she got it from Mr. Beckworth himself is a usual device to give an added air of truth. Though the opening situation, the hardships endured, the character descriptions in general give a realistic air to the whole, the ideal devotion of the hero, the convenient removal of obstacles and the happy termination belong unquestionably to the romance.

## VI.

In the description of Miss "Eloise Fidler" which closely follows the Beckworth narrative, Mrs. Kirkland has attempted to give variety to her sketches of Michigan character. This young woman "whose age is at a stand" is so obviously out of place that the reader feels much regret when she succeeds in changing the "unpoetic" name of Fidler and decides to remain in Montacute. She seems to be an exaggerated example of the young lady of the boudoir. She belongs back in the eighteenth century in England though we may have to own a few of her kind in the early Knickerbocker period. Her chief occupation seems to have been to add to her choice collection of verses. Her album "resplendent in gold and satin" and embossed flowers was ever awaiting contribution. The selections quoted from it show the extreme sentimentality of the owner and her fondness for the expressions of the age of Pope. Ink is

called "sable dew," and such hackneyed expressions as "lids of pearl," "brow of snow," "cheek like a rose" are common. Whether Mrs. Kirkland was anxious to populate Montacute with varied types, or whether she wanted an opportunity to express her disgust of the extremely fashionable and silly young woman through a satiric treatment cannot be ascertained, but we are glad that the "fair Eloise" is the sole representative of her class.

The long story of the Tinkerville wild-cat bank is an ordinary one.

Mrs. Kirkland next inserts a chapter on the regretable lack of public religious instruction in the new country. She describes the effort of one of the preachers, "a well meaning, but most incompetent person." She acknowledges with gratitude the visits of the more refined and scholarly, but there is no regularity about the service and one seldom knows beforehand whether one will hear the coarse, illiterate ranter or the educated minister bearing a helpful message. If there could be a willingness for the different denominations to unite, a competent preacher might be secured and retained, but the small, struggling bands each representing a different sect are unable to support any form of public worship. Anyone who has sat through the long service of a hot afternoon on the prairie listening to a talk made up of the continual reiteration of commonplaces and inappropriate illustrations will recognize Mrs. Kirkland's description. The various religious denominations represented in the small western towns today are still struggling along, not willing to unite their efforts, but calling for aid from the missionary societies.

## VII.

A sketch quite complete in itself and a worthy one from the point of view of character study and humor is that one which describes the "Female Beneficent Society of Montacute." Sewing societies have ever been the object of much masculine ridicule, but here is a woman with characteristic insight revealing all the humorously satirical sides of the organization. The sewing society in any frontier village in the West today reveals quite as odd an assortment of womankind as did the gathering at Montacute. As human nature does not materially change we take this as a fair test of Mrs. Kirkland's realistic power.

The satiric wit in this sketch is extremely amusing; the characterization is varied and excellent. As it is quite representative of the author's ability it will be described at some length.

Mrs. Nippers, the supreme gossip of Montacute earnestly desired

the presidency of the new society. She vigorously canvassed the village endeavoring to throw out hints as to the ineligibility of all the others thereby breeding dissatisfaction or disgust wherever she went. Note the author's humorous description of this "social center" of the village.

The association is the prime dissipation of our village, the magic circle within which lies all our cherished exclusiveness, the strong hold of caste, the test of gentility, the temple of emulation, the hive of industry, the mart of fashion, and I must add, though reluctantly, the fountain of village scandal, the hot-bed from which springs every root of bitterness among the petticoated denizens of Montacute.

The result of Mrs. Campaspe Nippers' industrious canvassing was the selection—made entirely by herself—of "five directresses, two secretaries, and a treasurer, managers and auditors." Mrs. Kirkland says this reminded her of the military play of her three brothers who always had fore-captain, hind-captain and middle captain, but no privates.

When the meeting for the election of officers was held all these women whom she was counting upon to elect her president seemed to fear so active a member. One office after another was filled and Mrs. Campaspe was conspicuously neglected. She bore her disappointment with commendable composure, however, but she immediately set about inciting rebellion. The outcome of this appeared at the first meeting, and with the law of retribution especially active punishment followed soon.

The work was distributed, and the company broken up into little knots or coteries; every head bowed and every tongue in full play—

There were nineteen women with thirteen babies or at least young "uns" (indigenous) who were not above gingerbread.—

Mrs. Flyter was slicked up for the occasion in the snuff-colored silk she was married in. Mrs. Nippers wore her unfailing brown merino and black apron; Miss Clinch, her inevitable scarlet calico; Mrs. Skinner her red merino with baby of the same; and a dozen other mistresses shone in their "tother gowns" and their tamboured collars.

Sewing proceeds slowly and gossip grows apace, until a violent disturbance issues from the corner where Mrs. Nippers was seated. When closely questioned, she says she "only knows what she has heard," that there is great dissatisfaction because those who lived in log houses some distance from the village had not been invited to join the society, and that many people thought twenty-five cents quite too high for a yearly subscription. The members were aghast, for many of them still lived in log houses.

A quiet old lady who sat knitting in the corner spoke out with the power of an oracle. She plainly declared that Mrs. Nippers had instigated the insurrection and that she had been the only one who objected to the dues. From this time on Mrs. Campaspe "served in silence and carried her colors at half-mast for the remainder of the afternoon."

The description of the tea-table surrounded by the women and grabbing babies is given with characteristic realism. The topics of conversation are chosen from the limited interests of their narrow lives,—barn raising, butter-making, a trip to Detroit, etc.

In a simple, homely sketch like this where there is an opportunity for the author to indulge in her fondness for mildly satiric and humorous treatment, and where there is one character which gives motive to the whole story we see Mrs. Kirkland at her best. When she departs from this method and depends upon plot for interest as she does often in "Western Clearings" she is not so successful.

## VIII.

Mrs. Kirkland now returns to the essay form. She considers the various types of the Michigan pioneer and shows the different points of view taken by men and women in considering the aspects of the new life. She tells of the young married couples one always finds on the frontier. Opportunities seem greater for them here, so with a rude shelter, a handful of furniture and with youth, health, love and hope they bravely face their hardships.

Another class of settlers is made up of those who have come to Michigan with the hope of acquiring property at a rapid rate. They have sold their possessions in the East, "sacrificed the convenient furniture necessary to daily comfort, and awake only when it is too late, to the fact that it kills old vines to tear them from their clinging places." The women of this class, especially, are to be pitied. The little home they knew in the East, so happily filled with familiar faces, so well supplied with comforts and conveniences, has suddenly been changed to one of strangers, exasperating difficulties, and inefficient household equipment. The men, however, are not troubled by the inconveniences of domestic arrangements in the loggery. They joyously throw their axes over their shoulders and congratulate themselves on the change as they see a fresh and glowing page spread before them,—opportunities they never knew before.

The woman who is bound to make the best of things, soon begins to introduce little refining, cheering influences. With her spinning or butter money she buys some trifle for the log-hut that will help

to transform it into a home. She plants eglantine and wild cucumber to shade her windows. She cultivates beds of balsams, sweet-william, four o'clocks and poppies. When at her earnest request a few apple trees and lilac bushes have been planted the whole place seems wonderfully transformed.

The author finds compensation for the hardships and trials of life in the new country, in the wonderful freedom from restraint, in the feeling of joyous, unbounded liberty that leads her to pity the "walled-up denizens of the city." To Mrs. Kirkland the familiarity with woods and waters, the harmony which the Creator has instituted between the animate and the inanimate works of his hands brings placid contentment.

We are doing no injustice to the genius of Washington Irving when we compare this essay with his descriptions of rural customs in England as found in his "Sketch Book." In many places Mrs. Kirkland shows an accuracy and felicity of expression quite equal to that of her more well-known contemporary. Her genial, happy, nature-loving spirit gives that quality of broad benevolence so welcome in the informal essay.

## IX.

The introduction to the next narrative shows again the author's intense interest in the natural world about her. A brief selection from it will be quoted, as it shows better than any yet discovered a similarity to the style of N. P. Willis, with whom her contemporaries frequently compared her. If one would be led by the ornate quality of the description to doubt the genuineness of the experience, one need only re-read many plainer expressions of delight to discover that a love of nature is a deep and abiding quality of the author's mind.

As they rode through the forest she says:

> We lacked not carpets for there was the velvet sward, embroidered with blossoms whose gemmy tints can never be equalled in Brussels or in Persia: not canopy, for an emerald dome was over us, full of trembling light, and festooned and tasselled with the starry eglantine, the pride of our Western woods; nor pillars, nor arches; for oh! beloved forests of my country, where can your far-sounding aisles be matched for grandeur, your alleys green for beauty? * * * * *
>
> Many a dreamy hour have I wandered in this delicious solitude, not book-bosomed; for, at such times, my rule is *peu lire, penser beaucoup.*

Had she written much in this vein it would have been impossible to identify her with the realists.

Interesting and unique is the character sketch of Mr. Simeon Jenkins, a tall, illiterate, boastful Michigander, who has a very exalted opinion of himself and his abilities. Ever since the days of his childhood when he was a wily little vender on election days, he has been filled with patriotism and the realization of his duty to his country. Ever on the alert for a sinecure he will accept any office the dear people may bestow upon him. When he finds his political party in the minority, he joins the other. Finally all these efforts result in his being dignified with the title "Justas of the Peace." Through the aid of the active services of the tongues of the "Female Beneficent Society" it came out that the village tailor felt aggrieved because he had been accused of stealing some satin. Mr. Jenkins is to preside at this slander suit. The "Justas" has prepared a long speech that is to touch upon the chief periods of the world's development, and he is anxious for an opportunity to deliver it. He calls for the pen and ink and says he will want some paper to take down the "dispositions." Finally "in came the plaintiff, the Schneider of our village, no Robin Starveling he, but a Magnificent Hector-looking fellow, tall enough to have commanded Frederick of Prussia's crack regiment. The beetle-brows of this hero were puckered like the seams of his newest 'prentice, and he cast magnanimous glances round the assembly, as who should say:

> "Come one, come all, this rock shall fly
> From its firm base as soon as I!"

When the Beneficent Society tongues are in full operation, the two men in the case slip away and in five minutes return, having settled the matter between them.

Simeon Jenkins didn't have a chance to use his speech and the women who had been looking for excitement were disappointed. Some of them, however, "who had been trembling under the consciousness of conversational sins unwhipped of justice shawled and India-rubbered with more than usual alacrity and I doubt not made vows, sincere, whether well kept or not, to let their neighbors' business alone for some time."

The pretense of a law-suit which holds this sketch together is too slight. The seams in the construction of the "plot" are too noticeable. The whole effect is one of burlesque. With the exception of some witty allusions, the one thing of value in the sketch is the creation of Simeon Jenkins.

In preparing to take leave of her reader Mrs. Kirkland thinks of many topics she has neglected to mention, the supreme delight of receiving the weekly mail, the new school house and the teacher,

the disciplinary value of life in the Michigan wilds. She proceeds to give the most lively attention to the school-master. After telling of the usual custom of employing women for the summer months, she says:

"During the snowy, blowy, wheezy, and freezy months the chair was taken—not filled—by Mr. Cyrus Whicher,—not Switcher,—a dignitary who had boarded round till there was very little of him left. I have been told, that when he first bore the birch,—in his own hand I mean,—he was of a portly and rather stolid exterior; but he was, when I knew him, a mere cuticle—a "skellinton" as Mr. Weller would say."

Mrs. Kirkland tells of her futile attempts to restore him to his "stolid exterior," but she decides one other reason for his lean and hungry look is his insatiable curiosity. In her description of this trait she drops into caricature. Surely no such prying, impertinent individual as she pictures would be employed even in the backwoods.

"He scraped a little of the crystallized green off my inkstand to find out how it was put on; pulled up a corner of the parlor carpet to see whether it was 'wore like a bed-spread;' whether it was 'over-shot or under-shot.' In addition to this he questioned every member of the household on every conceivable subject. Mrs. Kirkland says: "I began to feel croupish before he left us, from having talked myself quite out." What a happy arrangement that no one family had to bear this affliction for longer than a week at a time!

This humorously satiric picture of the early pedagogue is Mrs. Kirkland's method of showing one of Michigan's great needs. The condition of the early school is everywhere an object of her concern.

## X.

A general quality of Mrs. Kirkland's work and one that was a remnant of the Knickerbocker period was her frequent insertion of quotation. As this practice is not the literary fashion today one is inclined to think this author over-does it. Whether we like it or not it serves to show Mrs. Kirkland's well stored mind and to give us an insight into her fun-loving spirit as she discovers illustrious parallels or witty analogies.

When Mr. Titmouse was afflicted with the Michigan evil she says:

> As for the ague, did not great
> Caesar shake—
> 'Tis true this god did shake;
> His coward lips did from their color fly,—

And in this important particular poor Lorenzo Titmouse was just like the inventor of the laurel crown."

She is grateful to Cowper for giving poetical grace to the arrangement of the laundry work performed by Mrs. Jennings at the side of the creek—

> A kettle slung
> Between two poles, upon a stick traverse.

When people complain of the hardships of Michigan she offers the consolation of Touchstone's philosophy and declares,—

"It is your only wear for this meridian."

She describes herself and her dainty neighbor, Mrs. Rivers riding to a country wedding in an ox-cart as "reclining *a la* Lalla Rookh and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu."

A general characteristic so very evident in her work that it requires special mention, is inveterate degression. She declares she is frequently conscious of her inability to construct, and once, as if to view the fault in a different light, she cheerfully acknowledges a deliberate adherence to the right to wander at will. But after making due allowance for any chosen manner of informal presentations and after taking into consideration the sketch-book quality of her subject, there are many examples of unwarranted disgression.

It is always interesting to see an author's comment on his own work and to discover powers of self-analysis. What seemed the best of Mrs. Kirkland's many confessions is found at the close of "A New Home."

"I have departed from all rule and precedent in these wandering sketches of mine. * * * I think I have discovered that the bent of my genius is altogether towards disgression. Association leads me like a will-o-the-wisp. * * * This attempt to write one long, coherent letter about Montacute has at least convinced me that history is not my forte. I give up the attempt in despair and lower my ambition to the collection of scattered material for the use of the future compiler of Montacutian annals."

Taken as a whole, "A New Home" is by far the best book Mrs. Kirkland ever wrote. Its excellence seems to be due to the vigor of first impressions, the delight in the novelty of the situation. A woman of Mrs. Kirkland's buoyant disposition, full of desire to see life in its many phases felt a sense of welcome adventure in a short residence in the Michigan wilds. The typical backwoodsman and his family furnished her with most interesting character studies, and she found great delight in the wide expanse of the primitive forest.

But after two and one-half years the deprivations of a pioneer

life began to wear upon her. We are never told of her final return to New York. Departing from truth, in "Forest Life" she leads us to believe she has been a resident of Michigan four or five years. Though there are some examples of her best style, on the whole the real sparkle seems to be gone, and the two volumes which constitute the work seem largely made up of repetitions and "warmed-over" impressions.

If "A New Home—Who'll Follow?" does not contain all, it at least represents all that was characteristic of the best work of its author. Since this is true, the two remaining books will be more briefly considered.

## XI.

"Forest Life" was published in 1842, or three years after its author's first "plunge into print" as she calls it. In the preface she gratefully acknowledges the generous appreciation shown her first effort, but she sincerely regrets

"That ingenious malice has been busy in finding substance for the shadows which were called up to give variety to the pages of 'A New Home'—in short that I have been accused of substituting personality for impersonation. This I utterly deny; and I am sincerely sorry that any one has been persuaded to regard as unkind what was announced merely as a playful sketch, and not as a serious history."

Doubtless these accusers did not realize what a compliment they were inadvertently paying to the author's realistic method. Severe criticism seems to have come from another class also, she says:

"It has appeared to some few of the more enthusiastic of our western patriots that there is something treasonable in exhibiting the settler of a new country as deficient in some of the amenities of life and language."

How extremely characteristic this is of those absurdly foolish "local patriots" found in any newly-settled country! They seem to acknowledge the inadequacies of the region when they constantly reiterate its praise and when they are ever on the alert expecting offense from any visitor.

These quotations were given for two reasons; first, because they undoubtedly show that the author gave a picture of the Michigan pioneer perilously true to life; second, because much to our regret, they seem to have influenced her to change her method when she wrote a new book. The first reason is simply a satisfying confirmation of what has already been noted; the second is pertinent as bearing upon "Forest Life." It is impossible to ascertain the

extent of the influence of the adverse criticism, but there is no doubt that it was very unfortunate, coming as it did after the novelty in the new life had worn away and when the author needed encouragement and inspiration in order to sustain her efforts. Her naturally sensitive disposition did not permit her to treasure the just appreciation of the worthy critics and ignore the blame of the easily offended.

Spontaneity seems gone; it is very evident that "Forest Life" did not "write itself" as she says the former sketches did. Filled with guarded comment and long dissertations its progress is slow and self-conscious. The stories and incidents seem to be brought in for the purpose of illustrating abstract truths; they are usually followed or accompanied by extensive moralizing on the part of the author. We miss the original portraiture of the backwoodsman and the attempt to make up the loss by special attention to plot is unsuccessful. The effort is strained, the result overdrawn and incredible. As "Western Clearings" the final book to be considered, is made up of a collection of short stories more representative of the author's best work, those found in "Forest Life" will be passed without comment.

Continuing the adverse criticism, we find over one hundred pages devoted to the tedious narrative concerned with the Sibthorpe family. As if to silence those fault finding critics who accused her of peopling Michigan with a coarse and illiterate type, she introduces these educated and refined English people who bring four servants to their establishment in the woods. They are obviously so out of place that it is impossible to fit them into the landscape. The whole of the long, dull effort isn't worth the few pages of the first book that describes Campaspe Nippers or Mr. Doubleday. It is impossible to imagine what total eclipse came over the author's judgment when she allowed herself to insert the insufferably lengthy and tedious letters between the Sibthorpes and their friends in England. This part of her work reminds one of the days of Richardson, when, on account of the rarity of the novel the people encouraged interminable literary loiterings.

In addition to this, practically all of the main topics that describe characteristics of the life in the new country are repeated. This time, however, they come to us through the method of general exposition rather than with the happy concreteness so evident in the preceding works. For example, after having received a good idea of the prevalence of the ague through a visit to the forlorn but interesting Titmouse family in "A New Home" we do not readily

accept a prosy, unrelieved description of the disease in "Forest Life."

Having finished our complaints against the new book it will be more pleasant to discover some commendable qualities. Considering the secondary nature of this work, no attempt is being made to follow the author's outline, as was done in the preceding sketches. Similar to the plan followed in the adverse criticism, examples will be chosen from any part of the book so long as they illustrate the author's more fortunate choice of material and happy manner of presentation, and as they serve to strengthen Mrs. Kirkland's claim to a place among western realists.

In the opening chapter of "Forest Life" she gives a very natural description of the emotions experienced by the average pioneer woman of culture. As she says, the truth and accuracy of this cannot be fully appreciated by any one who has never been far from the home-land. Mrs. Kirkland's cheerful philosophy and enduring fortitude failed her at times. She says:

Those who have been accustomed to live in the midst of a wide circle of pleasant acquaintance,—and another, a dearer though narrower circle of beloved friends,—where every taste finds its appropriate gratification, and every feeling of affection its warm response,—can scarcely be expected to appreciate the yearning with which the dweller in the far distant wilderness looks back upon the land of his early love; the land of society, of conversation, of that collision of differing yet kindred minds, without which the best of us become stupid; the land of churches, of books, of music, of pictures,—of all that can delight the imagination as well as all that ministers to our good nature.

Those only whom fate or a wayward choice has removed from these advantages can describe the aspect which they wear when viewed from an almost hopeless distance; or the sense of alienation, of isolation, of loneliness, which is apt to beset the heart or the imagination of the emigrant in moments of depression, or long hours of ill health.

It is interesting to imagine the pure delight that the author of these words must have felt when, after her return to New York, she was restored to the happy companionship of that brilliant group which frequented Anne Lynche's receptions.

With characteristic buoyancy she soon recovers from this moment of depression and finds consolation and enjoyment in the natural scenery of Michigan. In order to show that the love of nature, so evident in "A New Home," is undiminished here, and that her enthusiastic appreciation entitles her to admission to the recently accused band of "local patriots" the following is quoted:

Our scenery has been called tame. What is tame scenery? Is

every landscape tame which cannot boast of mountains or cataracts? Save these, I know of no feature of rural beauty in which our green peninsula is found wanting. If the richest meadow land shut in by gently swelling hills and fringed with every variety of foliage—if streams innumerable—if lakes in unparalleled variety of size and figure, studded with islands and tenanted by multitudes of wild fowl—if these be elements of beauty, we may justly boast of our fair domain, and invoke the eye of the painter and the pen of the poet. No spot on earth possesses a more transparent atmosphere. The heavenly bodies seem to smile upon us without an intervening medium. The lustre of the stars and moonlight seem more pure and perfect here than elsewhere.

In a more practical vein she continues with a discussion of Michigan resources; the value of the forests, the fine quality of the soil, the inexhaustible beds of peat and marl. If, as she believes, the aspect of the country effects character, she looks forward to a people of mildness, kindness and all the gentler virtues.

## XII.

When Mrs. Kirkland was on a long drive enjoying this primitive scenery she so greatly admired, she came suddenly upon one of the sights of the new country, a "mill raising." On account of the dearth of amusement, a raising of any kind was looked upon as a great frolic. All the men and boys for miles around flocked to it to share in the excitement and partake of the "refreshments." As, on this occasion, the more elaborate and formal mill-raising was in progress, a great crowd had gathered and merry-making was high. The most interesting part of the proceedings, however, was the final act. When all was complete, a name was bestowed after the following formula:

> "Upon this plain
> Stands a fair frame—
> Who'll give it a name?"

To which was responded:

> "We'll call it the miller's delight,—
> To take toll all day and count the cash at night."

This seems especially interesting as evidence of a bit of sentiment in these backwoodsmen, usually thought to be so lacking in that respect. A scene like that would have delighted the heart of Washington Irving.

Mrs. Kirkland gives us a good idea of the feeling of mutual dependence felt by the inhabitants of a new country. Her essay on the "good neighbor" though not unique in any way, is very acceptable both from the point of view of matter and of treatment. She

declares that in cities one is likely to forget his relationship to the great human family; but here in the forest life "the code of morals as well as manners has a warmer, a more human tinge." As it is impossible to set up as an exclusive, "the closeness of acquaintance leads to great plainness and sincerity—not always pleasant, perhaps, but still nearer right than its hollow hearted opposite."

The good neighbor is the mainstay of the community. She then describes his kind acts in times of sickness and death and tells how he substitutes himself for the charitable institutions of the older parts of the country as he generously receives the orphaned children and helps the needy.

In half playful vein she tells how he patiently bears the "petty trespasses" and 'impudent impositions," for he realizes that in a forming society, disputes and quarrels are great hindrances to progress. He lends his horses, wagons and household equipment, often at great personal sacrifice. All this he does having for his only compensation the satisfaction of doing a kind deed and of hoping to influence his thoughtless neighbor by his own example.

## XIII.

"Western Clearings," published in 1845, contains many stories written when the author was still in the West. These had appeared in the magazines of the day and the warm reception they had received encouraged the author to collect and edit them. Each story or essay is complete in itself and in this respect "Western Clearings" furnishes a welcome change from the long drawn-out attempt at continuity in "Forest Life." While the material all deals with western themes, it is of unequal merit from the present point of view. Often it is ineffective or trite.

"Western Clearings," published in 1845, we find that most of the stories this book contains were written when the author was still in the West. They had appeared in the magazines of the day and the warm reception they had received encouraged the author to collect and edit them. Each story or essay is complete in itself and in this respect "Western Clearings" furnishes a welcome change from the long drawn-out attempt at continuity in "Forest Life." While the material all deals with western themes, it is of unequal merit from the present point of view. Often it is ineffective or trite.

A favorite device of the author is to place a fashionable city coquette in unfavorable light beside a natural, innocent country

lass. The situation varies; sometimes, the "fashionable" exerts her practiced witchery on the not easily deceived young Michigander who always shows a proper discriminating judgment when the ultimatum arrives; sometimes, she is at work endeavoring to humiliate her false example; again she is discovered concocting and putting into operation some wild and daring scheme. But whenever she appears the reader knows she is doomed to final and overwhelming degradation.

Further, the author strikes too boldly to bring about her ends. She seems to feel in duty bound to offer the reader the excitement of strained credulity, yet she gives the old assurance that the incredible incidents have been actual experiences; she acknowledges only some mild invention in the minor parts. Even if we could believe this we would blame her for not throwing an air of plausible fiction over these melodramatic "true to life" stories. We are inclined to think that in the triumph of true love, the exaltation of the good, the bestowal of unexpected fortune, she was all too fond of aiding the intervention of the fairy godmother; and in the humiliation of the proud, the annihilation of the false, and the exposure of chicanery she lent too active assistance to Nemesis.

Western sketches that claim to depend for interest on other things than adventure, demand an air of truth. We look for the portraiture of individuals who will have some of the qualities of the country, who will fit their environment; we look for situations, amusements, activities peculiar to that region; in short, we want the life of the west to bear the marks of individuality, to contain something that smacks of the prairie or forest, frontier customs, manners and modes of living.

In as much as an author fails to give us this and merely uses the country as a setting in which to place her characters taken from the old romance, she disappoints. We measure her success by the homely intimacy of her picture.

Her method of presentation in "Western Clearings" as has been referred to, was the short story; this was introduced by a brief essay on some general topic leading up to the narrative. Since the short story has come to have very definite rules guiding its composition, demanding accurate proportion, sharp telling conclusions and dramatic concentration, it would not be fair to judge Mrs. Kirkland's work by these requirements; for it must be remembered the short story was in its infancy in 1845; yet had she showed the true instinct for short-story structure, in her own field she might have exerted a good deal of influence on its moulding life

and have shared the honors of the dictatorship in its construction along with Poe and Hawthorne.

In addition to the demands of structure, the short story, as well as any form of fiction, requires an appropriate, enticing title. Mrs. Kirkland's titles are often repellent as well as indefinite. For example, "Bitter Fruits from Chance Sown Seeds," "Half-lengths from Life," "Ambuscades," "Chances and Changes."

But after all adverse comment has been given there is much to be said in the author's favor: after all deductions have been made there are many examples that serve to illustrate well chosen material, realistic and unique; and in spite of structural short-comings there are many satisfactory and pleasing presentations. All these materially aid in establishing a worthy place for Mrs. Kirkland.

## XIV.

The initial story in "Western Clearings" is entitled "The Land Fever." No theme more characteristic of the West could have been chosen and the author succeeds admirably in giving an accurate idea of conditions in the new country during the excitement that attended wild speculation in land. In her essay-like introduction she well describes the free, hearty hospitable manner that pervades the West, adding much to its charm. Because the inns are infrequent, "open house" is kept for the stranger. The way-farer is treated to the best that the little home in the wilderness affords, and it is seldom that the generous host will accept compensation.

But conditions were different in the time of land speculation. The settler heartily disliked the speculator, because he was a non-resident and did little or nothing to build up the country; the "land-looker," called today the "locater," was also an object of hatred, because of his frequent unscrupulous methods. It was not difficult to mislead the unpracticed land-hunter because some knowledge was required to read the stakes placed by the government survey, and the settler frequently showed marked inhospitality to this individual when he found him astray. This is the situation described in the story.

The night was cold and rainy, but the new-comer's horse was obliged to graze on the marsh; the supper was composed of the coarsest fare and no bed was provided for the stranger. In the morning, when the traveller was charged a dollar for his "entertainment" he expressed himself in no uncertain terms concerning the "boasted western hospitality." The settler angrily declared that he showed no hospitality to "land-sharks," whereat, true

to his present state of mind, the stranger retorted that he wouldn't take the whole State as a gift. It then transpired that the settler had mistaken the stranger's inquiry for a hunting-party to mean a land-hunting-party. The settler and his wife, with many apologies attempt to make amends for the treatment of their guest. Every line of the description that introduces this story is fraught with truth to one who has been in a country at the time of its early settlement. The illustrative story would seem to describe a rudeness inexcusable on the part of the settlers, but considering their dislike of the speculator, there may be no exaggeration. As the interest depends upon the situation no attempt is made to portray unique character.

Mrs. Kirkland gives us a natural picture of the excitement caused in a small western town over a dance. She very skillfully accomplishes this by drawing a realistic contrast between her own drowsy condition and the fluttering state of the "human butterflies" who disturb her afternoon nap as they come with many requests; one wished to borrow a large feather fan, another "jist called in to see if she was goin' to want that 'ere white bunnit curting of hers." The maid of all work ingeniously obtained possession of a coveted blue ribbon. A request came via the kitchen for the use of a team of horses and a large vehicle to "convey the ladies." True to her ideas of the good-neighbor as expressed in "Forest Life," she magnanimously grants all requests. Anxious to see the fun, she thought of a pretense that gave her the opportunity to go to "Thram's Huddle." Through a peek-hole she views the "fast and furious" dance unobserved; she saw "old Knapp the fiddler testing the absorbent power of a large red cotton handkerchief." She saw her own cerulean Jane and she watched Miss Leggett gallop down the center with the "bunnit-curting" trailing after her like a meteor. She was even treated to a glimpse of the abundant and varied feast being prepared by the "doleful looking dame—the empress of that torrid region,—the kitchen."

Any one who is unfamiliar with the life in a new country can have little idea of the absorbing interest in dancing shown by the young people on the frontier. They dance in the little claim-shanties, in the log huts; they drive or ride horse-back for miles to enjoy the extreme pleasure of dancing till daylight. The music is usually furnished by some one of the company who can "fiddle." If the violin or melodian is wanting, there is always a mouth organ in somebody's pocket. The rare assortment of social casts that meet and mingle in the whirl of the dance would surprise and disgust anyone with a tendency to exclusiveness. All go in together with

the hilarious spirit of entire freedom from any conventionality.

Mrs. Kirkland is successful in catching the spirit of the ball and in communicating it to her reader. Her natural buoyancy and sense of humor delight in describing a scene of this kind. The conversation is given with great naturalness. Though little attention is devoted to any one of the various members, the group which compose the party stand out with telling individuality. Altogether the little story is very successful.

At least one example of Mrs. Kirkland's landscape descriptions should be quoted from "Western Clearings." A picture of an autumn scene taken from the introduction to "Chances and Changes" has been chosen.

> Not a tree from the almost black-green of tamarack and hemlock to the pale willow and the flaunting scarlet maple, the crimson brown-oak and the golden beech,—not a shrub however insignificant but contributes to the general splendor. * * * The harvest has been nearly all gathered and the plowing for next year's crop has made some progress as the deep, rich brown of some fields and the plough itself slowly moving in others can tell us. * * * Look yonder, beyond the line of crimson and brown shrubs that line the rough fence at the sower pacing the side field with the measured tread of the soldier * * * The adjoining field is like a fairy camp with its ranges of tent-like stacks of corn, and a young maple left standing here and there as if on purpose to supply the flaring red banners necessary to the illusion. * * * Here and there a cluster of hay stacks of all sizes covered with roofs shaped like those of a Chinese pagoda give quite an oriental touch, while close at hand a long, shambling Yankee teamster coaxing and scolding his oxen in the most uncouth of all possible voices will recall the whereabouts with a shock, reminding one that the prevailing human tone of the region is anything but poetic.

In the general discussion that opens "The Bee-Tree" the author gives a realistic description of a certain type of settler always found in the new parts of the country. In spite of "honesty, hard work and sobriety" they remain poor while their neighbors prosper. They blame "the luck," while the observant neighbors say they "ha'n't no faculty." Mrs. Kirkland proceeds to examine some of the causes of the ill luck. She finds a poor, forlorn dwelling in the very midst of the marsh and in it lives Silas Ashburn and his wretched family. Although Ashburn was among the earliest settlers in Michigan and had half a county of beautiful farm land to choose from, he deliberately selected this tract in the marsh because there would always be good pasture for his cows, and as for the ague, why "everybody knows if you've got to have the ague, why you've got to, and all the high land and dry land and Queen

Ann (quinine) in the world wouldn't make no odds." Silas declares that he works "like a tiger" but that John Dean, his neighbor who come with him from York State gets all the luck. He forgets that "Dean never speculated, nor hunted, nor fished nor found honey, nor sent his family to pick berries for sale," while he has frequently been guilty of all. He does not comprehend that Dean makes enough money to buy his venison in half the time Silas is hunting, and that Dean's family, due to his steady industry, are well housed and comfortably clad. Naturally he hasn't the doctor's bills to pay that fall to poor Silas Ashburn. He refuses to see that when he spends a whole night coon-hunting and is obliged to sleep half the next day, and feels good for nothing the day after, he might better have left "the varmint to cumber the ground." One of the greatest temptations that entices Silas away from steady industry is a bee-hunt. He would leave the most profitable job of the season if he but received a hint of the presence of a bee-tree, and if a quantity of honey should be secured, it is immediately consumed, for as Mrs. Ashburn says, "It costs nothing, let 'em enjoy it. It isn't often we have such luck." As to the cost, close compu tation might lead to a different conclusion, but the Ashburns are not calculators. After placing the situation thus realistically before the reader, the author proceeds to the main incident. A wealthy man named Keene had moved into the settlement. Anxious to clear his land he had offered Silas Ashburn steady employment. On a beautiful autumn morning, Silas and his son Joe, with axes over their shoulders are on their way to Mr. Keene's land. Silas has been citing instances of his usual bad luck, but cheerfully remarks that this new work is likely to prove a profitable job. Just then he is greatly excited by the appearance of bees. Silas and Joe tear after them and finally discover an immense quantity of honey in a tree on Mr. Keene's land. True to custom they inscribe their initials on the trunk and hurry home to make preparations to come for the treasure. On their way they meet Mr. Keene who testily inquires when they are coming to do his work. Silas impertinently replies that he has another job for that day and Mr. Keene silently concludes he'll try to find men more anxious for the work. It took time to scoop troughs for the reception of the honey and the preparations were delayed by the fact that the mother and children were prostrated with the ague; but on the third day all was ready; "well-day" had arrived for the invalids so all set out together in high spirits. It may seem strange, since Silas had undoubted claim to the treasure that it was thought necessary to go at night, but such was always the custom. The

family, well supplied with pails, trudged along through the forest in the moonlight. Not a cloud rested on their happy spirits until they arrived at the place designated and there, much to their surprise was an open space in the forest. The coveted bee-tree was felled and the treasure had been removed. The mother and children, tired and ill and bitterly disappointed cried in despair while Silas loudly cursed the "rich man that begrudges the poor man the breath of life." Finally the melancholy group dragged themselves home.

The narrative now turns to the description of the prosperous Keene home. Clarissa Bensley, the very pretty, attractive niece of Mr. Keene asks permission to take a basket of provisions to the ague-stricken Ashburns. Her uncle very naturally has a poor opinion of the family, but he makes no objection. The unfortunate and disappointing escapade of the previous night had brought upon the Ashburns a violent return of the disease. The contents of Clarissa's basket are very welcome, until she innocently sets upon the table a jar of honey which she declares was found only a couple of days ago on her uncle's land. Silas's rage cannot be contained; he pronounces fierce invective on "old Keene" and the rich man generally, as he savagely hurls the jar of honey far down the path. Finally realizing his brutality to the innocent girl who had come on a sympathetic mission, he subsides and even holds her pony while she mounts. The remainder of the story includes an irrelevant love story and brings about a reconciliation between Ashburn and Keene. After this is brought about Silas declares that he has bettter luck than usual but he thinks he'll "pull up stakes and move to Wisconsin" because a man can do better farther West.

This story has been given more at length than any other because it was thought to be characteristic of the author's best work, both as to realistic material and happy method of construction. The theme is the sort we look for in a western sketch. The pleasure described as a bee-hunt belongs peculiarly to a forest country and to one sparsely settled, hence it has a peculiar Michigan quality. Any western settler would recognize Silas Ashburn among his neighbors, the type of man who remains poor in the midst of prosperity and yet, entirely lacking in the power of self-analysis, is never able to discover that all the fault lies with himself. He invariably blames his luck and curses the heartless rich. Though the individual of this type is doubtless found in all parts of the country —old and new alike—what makes him seem to belong peculiarly to the West is the fact that he shows up more prominently in a country unique because of the equality of opportunity. The govern-

ment distributes its land with impartial generosity; all have a fair start and when the Silas Ashburns fall behind their failure is most conspicuous.

## XV.

When the examination of the literary works of Mrs. Kirkland has been completed; when practically everything she ever wrote has been read, and the western sketches have been re-read with particular care, one naturally reverts to the question that opened the study,—why should the western sketches that were so highly exalted in their own day and that represented so much that was really excellent in matter and style, be so completely ignored at present? What is their ultimate value, and what place should their author occupy today?

In attempting to answer the first question we find that Mrs. Kirkland had the immense advantage of a fresh and vigorous theme. The imagination loved to dwell on the vast western territory filled with limitless possibilities and a spirit of wild, enticing freedom. People read eagerly concerning the uncouth frontiersman and his unconventional manner of living. Yet few authors visited the West, and the literature that dealt with the subject was largely imaginary or based upon experiences related to the authors by some western traveller. This rarely possessed the vigor and vivacity of the Kirkland sketches that were such evident "transcripts of reality." But now the old state of Michigan is more readily identified with the East than with the West. The mere western theme that certainly helped to establish Mrs. Kirkland's reputation will do nothing to maintain it, for the interesting old pioneer has moved on about two thousand miles to the cattle region and he is busy reclaiming the "Great American Desert."

In addition to this, so great is the change that has come over the ideals of literary criticism since 1839, that it is safe to say that any work now found to be conspicuously lacking in structure, and frequently guilty of moralizing dissertations, philosophical interpolations and long descriptions would be quickly passed by, and all that is contained of material that might readily be appreciated today would be ignored or forgotten. But though the mere change in literary fashion may be a sufficient reason to explain the neglect of the general reader, it is poor excuse for the defection of the student of history or of literature. Through correspondence with authorities in Michigan it was discovered that Mrs. Kirkland is practically unknown there, and that there is doubt as to her ever having been an "actual settler."

As was stated in the beginning, the object of this paper has been to discover the ultimate value of the Western Sketches. Copious selections thought to be characteristic of her best work have been culled in an endeavor to give a fair estimate of her ability. As her literary material was found to give a faithful portraiture of the life and character of the early Michigan forester; and as her method of presentation, though faulty in structure and concentration, was nevertheless filled with vivacity, humor and intelligent comprehension, the Western Sketches represent art as well as truth. In consideration of her service to history and to literature we ask a worthy place for Mrs. Kirkland among the pioneers in the development of western realistic fiction.

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# DR. DOUGLASS HOUGHTON

BY ROLLAND C. ALLEN
STATE GEOLOGIST

# DR. DOUGLASS HOUGHTON

BY ROLLAND C. ALLEN.*

IN the year 1830 Michigan lay on the very frontier of settlement in the old Northwest Territory. Detroit was little more than an army post although it was rapidly becoming an important settlement through which was passing a tide of sturdy people to the oak openings and prairies of the southern counties. There were less than 20,000 persons of European descent in the entire territory embraced within the present borders of the State. Beyond Detroit stretched to the north and west a vast and silent wilderness, broken only here and there on the coast by isolated groups of traders' and trappers' huts and stockades, through which communications were maintained with the Indians of the interior. The coast was only roughly charted, the land unsurveyed, and little was known of the character of the vast inlands of the two peninsulas, excepting only the southern counties which lay in the path of travel to the more remote and unsettled regions south and west of the end of Lake Michigan.

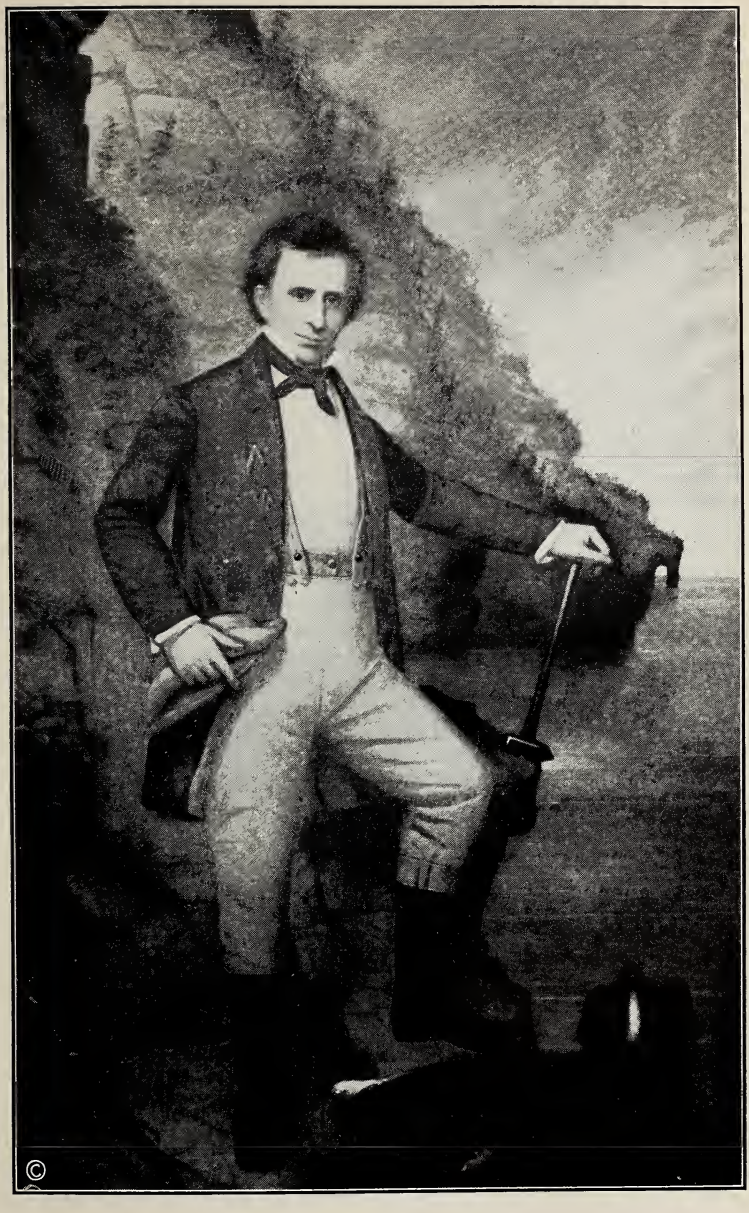
Such, in brief, was the state of the Territory on the arrival in Detroit, in the winter of 1830, of Douglass Houghton, then a youth

*Rolland Craten Allen, B. A., M. A. (University of Wisconsin, 1905-1908), was born May 24th, 1881, at Richmond, Indiana. He moved with his parents to Kansas in 1883 and thence to Wisconsin in 1891, securing his earlier education in the common schools of Kansas City and Richland county, Wisconsin. Having acquired a common school education he became a country school master at the age of sixteen and after having mastered the main subjects in the high school curriculum, untutored, he entered the University of Wisconsin at the age of nineteen for the purpose of preparing himself for the profession of law. There, however, he fell under the influence of Dr. Charles Richard Van Hise, now president of the university but at that time professor of geology, and under him began the study of geology as a profession. After three years of college training, during which time he supported himself as a photographer, musician, and through other labors of a miscellaneous character, he accepted an instructorship in the high school of Plymouth, Wisconsin. In the fall of 1904, after a summer spent in geological work in the wilds of northern Ontario, he reentered the university, graduating with the class of 1905. In his senior year he led for Wisconsin the annual intercollegiate debate with the University of Michigan and won the science medal for success in scientific research. During the summer of 1905 Mr. Allen was employed as geologist in Colorado by the United States Geological Survey, accepted a position as instructor in the University of Wisconsin in the fall, resigning in March, 1907, to engage in geologic work of a commercial nature in Canada, Minnesota and Michigan. Declining the offer of an appointment as mining geologist under the United States government in the Philippine Islands he returned at the end of 1907 to the University of Wisconsin for post graduate studies. In 1908-1909 Mr. Allen was instructor in geology in the University of Michigan, and from this position was appointed State Geologist and Director of the Michigan Geological and Biological Survey in August, 1909, continuing, however, his connection with the university as a special lecturer in geology until 1912, since which time his whole energy has been absorbed by his duties as Director of the Geological Survey. Mr. Allen is a Fellow of the Geological Society of America and a member of the Lake Superior Mining Institute, Michigan Academy of Science and Michigan Engineering Society and the fraternities of Sigma Xi (scientific), Alpha Chi Sigma (chemical), and Lansing Lodge No. 33, F. & A. M. In 1910 he was united in marriage to Martha Hill of Madison, Indiana.

of twenty-one who was destined to acquire and sustain a distinguished leadership, first in the intellectual and professional life of Detroit, and later, as State Geologist, in the development of the material resources of the young State and the inception of instruction in the natural sciences in the University. The occasion of his coming, after the lapse of three-quarters of a century, seems prophetic of the profound impress he was destined to leave on the State of his adoption. He came to Michigan, not as an emigrant seeking a new home in the west but, through the influence of intelligent people in Detroit who had preceded him, to fill a need for a leader in scientific thought in the growing Territory. Although Detroit at this time was a village of only 4,000 souls it comprised an unusually intelligent population among whom were a number of men distinguished not less for their intellectual than for their more material accomplishments. Among these were General Lewis Cass, Governor of the Territory; Stephens T. Mason, who became the first Governor of the State; Lucius Lyon, senator and later Surveyor General of the United States; Major Henry Whiting; Dr. Zina Pitcher, an eminent physician and a regent of the University.

In 1830 the friends of science in Detroit united in an application to Dr. Amos Eaton, President of the Rennesalaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, New York, to recommend a person qualified to deliver a course of public lectures on chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and natural philosophy. The request was delivered in person by Lucius Lyon and resulted in the selection of Douglass Houghton, who was then acting as an assistant to Dr. Eaton, the foremost geologist of the country. The immediate popularity attained by Houghton's lectures in Detroit was creditable not only to the young scientist but also to his hearers, who forsook in a measure the gaiety of a military post to engage more seriously in a study of natural science under the leadership of a youth who by many was at first deemed better fitted to receive rather than to impart instruction. Young Houghton, however, at once gave evidence of remarkable scientific attainments which, combined with his dominating but lovable personality, soon won all hearers. In thus early gaining the respect, admiration, and high regard of the people of Detroit he laid the foundation which in later years, broadened to include the people of the entire State, supported him in the organization of the Geological Survey and the prodigious labors which he discharged in the exploration of the trackless forests of the north.

In 1831 Houghton was admitted to the practice of medicine and



DR. DOUGLASS HOUGHTON.

From the portrait by Alvah Bradish, hanging in Representatives' Hall in the Capitol.

soon thereafter received an appointment from General Cass as physician and botanist to the Henry M. Schoolcraft expedition to the sources of the Mississippi river. It may be conceived that his experience under Schoolcraft not only served to stimulate his natural love for adventurous exploration, but also instructed him in those methods of travel and sustenance in the wilderness of which he made such effective use during the progress of the Geological Survey.

From 1832 to 1837 Dr. Houghton was engaged in the profession of medicine in Detroit. His practice was large and remunerative, and he further added to his income by profitable investments in real estate. In 1837 his private fortune was such that he was enabled to accept the appointment of State Geologist from the hands of his friend Stephens T. Mason, the Governor of the newly organized state. It would be desirable to pause here for a time to consider this interesting period in the life of Dr. Houghton, and particularly his relation to the civic and intellectual activities of Detroit; but since we are concerned in this paper more largely with the remarkable labors of Dr. Houghton, the State Geologist, suffice it to say that by 1837 he had become the leading scientist and physician, as well as one of the most prominent and respected citizens of Michigan.

It seems clear from the records of the times that Dr. Houghton is not only responsible for the conception and plans of the first geological survey, but it was the persuasive force of his personality that induced the first Legislature to commit the people of the young State to a work which doubtless promised to many little practical compensation in return for the burden of its support. This early personal triumph of the young scientist is the more remarkable when it is considered that the science of geology had as yet made little progress in America and was not then as it is now a common branch of instruction in schools and colleges. In fact its claims were received with doubt from the standpoint of the practical bearings of its tenets, and academicians denied the subject that favor which today is so freely accorded to all of the natural sciences. That the people of Michigan were thus early willing to appropriate money for a scientific survey of the State is no less an evidence of their courageous intelligence than a tribute to the remarkable influence of the personality of Dr. Houghton.

In the organization of the Survey Dr. Houghton found little of instruction or guidance in the experience of the older States. Although the first state surveys of Massachusetts (1830), Tennessee (1831), Maryland (1834), New Jersey, Connecticut, Virginia (1835), Maine,

New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania (1836), preceded those in Michigan by from one to seven years their results were only meagerly available and were of little value to Dr. Houghton in planning for the vast labors which opened before him in the wilds of Michigan. It is an interesting fact, as well as an evidence of Houghton's genius, that as early as 1838 the Survey had been organized on the plan that in the main essentials is followed to this day in Michigan, and which is approved by years of experience in other States as well. This plan provided for geological, topographical, zoological, and botanical departments, each headed by a competent specialist, but all under the executive head of the Survey, the State Geologist. The departments of botany and zoology did not survive the second year of their organization, on account of the straightened condition of the Survey's finances, a cause which also prevented the publication of most of the county maps which had been prepared by the State Topographer. In fact, it seems that the funds which the struggling young State was able to devote to the Survey, so ably planned, were pitifully inadequate for its execution, and the history of Michigan presents no nobler example than that of Dr. Houghton, whose devotion and enthusiasm surmounted in such marked degree the difficulties thus imposed upon him, as well as others of an equally formidable nature to which we shall now allude.

The pursuit of the science of geology in America had not risen to the dignity of a profession, and the matter of securing competent assistants was a source of immediate concern to the State Geologist. It seems that there were in Detroit at that time a number of young men of marked ability, who, fortunately, through personal contact with Dr. Houghton had acquired some of his ardor and enthusiasm for the sciences and who became in time, under his teaching and influence, fitted for the work of assistants to the State Geologist. Of these Bela Hubbard and C. C. Douglas rendered efficient service from the beginning of the Survey to the death of Dr. Houghton in 1845.

To those whose labors have never led across the wilds of the northern forests a mere recital of the dangers and difficulties which menaced the progress of the survey as well as the physical and mental constitution of its members must fail to produce a full appreciation of the prodigious burden embraced by the young geologist and his devoted assistants. In allusion to the arduous character of his labors in 1842, Houghton says, "wading the streams by day, annoyed by mosquitos at night, separated for weeks together from all society, were it not that the mind is constantly occupied by

the contemplation of objects which, from their symmetry and beauty, furnish a constant mental feast there would be nothing which could possibly compensate for the hardships endured."

Although the law of 1837 contemplated the completion of the survey in four years it was soon apparent to the Legislature as well as to Dr. Houghton that a longer time would be necessary for even a cursory examination of the entire state. Nevertheless a large part of the field work was actually accomplished by 1842 and the funds which were thereafter expended were drawn from an unexpended balance, not including small sums devoted to engraving. The State Geologist was instructed by the law to embody the results of his labors in a full and complete report at the close of the whole work and his annual communications to the legislature were, therefore, in his own words, "intended to be little more than statements of progress." The incompleteness of the United States linear surveys which were then in progress in Michigan also contributed to delay the work of the geological survey for Dr. Houghton depended on these surveys to furnish him skeleton maps of the townships on which to plat the physiographic and geologic features of the country. In fact, Dr. Houghton conceived the idea of enlisting the land surveyors themselves in the service of the geological survey and "derived the idea of accomplishing a thorough geological, mineralogical, topographical, and magnetical survey of the new lands of the United States contemporaneously with the government surveys." "As the act making provision for the state geological survey expired in 1842 leaving still a large territory in the Upper Peninsula unexplored he set about effecting a plan which he had previously conceived of connecting the linear surveys with the minute geological and mineralogical survey of the country. Having explained this system at one of the meetings of the Association of American Geologists and Naturalists he, as chairman of the committee from that body, visited Washington during the session of Congress in the winter of 1844 and laid his plan before the proper department. The feasibility of the project was at once comprehended. The only doubt raised was whether deputy surveyors could be found who were sufficiently versed in the natural sciences to undertake the work. This apparent obstacle was instantly removed by the offer to Dr. Houghton to take the contract of running 4,000 miles of lines at a price but little if any exceeding that which would have been paid for a single survey."*

*"Memoir of Douglass Houghton, by Bela Hubbard, American Journal of Science, Vol. 55, p 221. 1848.

The system proved immediately successful, and although abandoned after the death of Dr. Houghton enough had already been done to show that had the system remained in operation to the completion of the surveys we should have been possessed of information which was acquired only several decades later with vastly greater expense and labor.

The published results of Houghton's survey appear in seven annual reports to the Legislature and a number of short communications relative to the development of salt springs and other subjects. The work of preparation of the final report on the geology of the State was well along towards completion when it was interrupted by the death of Dr. Houghton in the midst of his labors, by drowning in Lake Superior near Eagle River, October 13, 1845. Although the State Topographer immediately impressed upon the legislature the expediency and desirability of entrusting the completion and editing of the final report to Dr. Houghton's chief assistants, no action was taken; and worse that that, through unaccountable negligence the vast collection of notes, sketches, maps, and manuscript, representing eight years of unremitting toil by Houghton and his assistants, were lost. This was the more unfortunate for the memory of Dr. Houghton because only the publication of the final report was needed to establish his reputation as one of the foremost, if not actually the foremost, geologist of his time in America.

Just how much he had accomplished will never be known, but it is evident from the fragmental reports preserved in the documents of the House and Senate of the Michigan Legislature that he had attained a fairly clear understanding of the succession and structure of the Paleozoic (*secondary*) rocks; had blocked out the Michigan Coal Basin; understood in a measure the later history of the Great Lakes, and had traced the position of some of their former shore lines; had called attention to the importance of our deposits of gypsum, coal, peat, marl, clay, limestone, iron ore, and copper; had discovered gold, and above all had attained an understanding of the geology of the copper-bearing rocks of Keweenaw Point which was very far in advance of his time. Indeed, the influence of his report on the copper bearing rocks was a main factor not only in attracting capital to the copper country and exercising a wise guidance on early prospecting and financial operations, but in hastening the construction of the first canal and locks around the falls of St. Marys River.

In all of the writings of Dr. Houghton emphasis is laid on the practical results of the survey rather than its more purely theoreti-

cal aspects, which in his own words "were preserved for the final report." He well understood that the tax-burdened people of the struggling commonwealth could at that time little afford expenditures for the pursuit of science for the sake of science alone and he addressed himself therefore to an appraisal of the material resources of which the State stood in urgent need—not only in its competition for settlers with the other young commonwealths of the northwest, but in fostering and directing new industries and internal improvements.

It is only through a backward glance across a vista of a half century that we are able to fully appreciate the irreparable loss the people of Michigan sustained in the death of Dr. Houghton, involving the main results of his tireless labors in the service of his beloved State. In the beautiful words of Bela Hubbard, there was lost to his State at the early age of 36 years "one who without eulogy may be ranked among the most extraordinary men of our country, whether we view him as a humble student of nature attracting all hearts to science; the friendly and skillful physician periling his life to save that of others; the energetic and independent public man centering his energy and sacrificing his private means for the public cause; or the universal instructor of youth and age, the source of as frequent and general a reference as the pages of a cyclopedia. The soldier dies honored who falls in battle. He too perished on the field of his fame; a field whose victories are bloodless, and in whose fruits untainted by misery and crime the whole human family may rejoice."

The memory of Dr. Houghton is preserved in the name of Michigan's largest inland lake, one of its wealthiest counties, one of its most important towns, one of its most beautiful waterfalls, and one of its most imposing mountains. A monument in Elmwood cemetery, Detroit and a cenotaph on the campus of the University have been erected to his memory, while a full length portrait by Alvah Bradish, his friend and biographer, adorns the Hall of Representatives of the State Capitol, and a memorial window has been placed in St. Paul's Church in Marquette.

Although the progress of knowledge has long since robbed the writings of Houghton of any present day scientific value, the lapse of time has on the other hand brought into clear relief on the background of Michigan's history the extraordinary ability, the indomitable will, and the conquering perseverance of this remarkable man. May I not suggest to the Michigan Historical Commission that a compilation and suitable publication of Houghton's works, which has to this time been denied, would not only be a

fitting honor to his memory and memorial to his public services but would form a most useful and interesting volume bearing on the physical condition and history of Michigan in the early years of her dignity as one of the United States.

# PRE-HISTORIC AND MODERN COPPER MINES OF LAKE SUPERIOR

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BY SAMUEL L. SMITH

# PRE-HISTORIC AND MODERN COPPER MINES OF LAKE SUPERIOR.

BY SAMUEL L. SMITH.*

IN preparing this paper on the Copper Mines of Lake Superior, I find myself beset with many difficulties. In the first place, the subject is intensely interesting to me, due no doubt, to personal associations in the pioneer days of the modern mining epoch; but it does not follow that my readers will share this interest any more than the parents and sisters shared the enthusiasm of the small boy whose fondest desire was for a hammer and who presented one to each of them as his Christmas offering.

Again, in this age of specialization, it seems almost ridiculous to attempt to boil down into one article the tremendous amount of statistics and literature on the subject. How thoroughly the ground has been gone over may be seen from Brinton who, in his excellent volume on "The American Race," refers to a list of over three hundred authorities. It would seem that the last word had been written, and I certainly do not expect to add anything new; all I can hope for is to be able to dress the subject up differently—with a slit skirt perhaps—to hold your attention for the moment.

Four hundred and twenty-two years have elapsed since America was discovered, or rediscovered, as some writers would have it. In the records of the first voyagers, mention is repeatedly made of the fact that the natives possessed copper implements, copper

*S. L. Smith, the writer of this article, was born at Algonac, on the St. Clair River, in 1830. His business career started there in 1850 and took him to the Lake Superior region in 1859 from which time on he has been closely identified with, and an active factor in, the development of that section.

On the constructive side, outside of mine developments, he organized with New York capital the M. H. & O. Railroad terminating at L'Anse on Keweenaw Bay in 1873, the road being extended fifteen years later to Houghton. In 1866 he purchased a large tract of land, part of which afterwards went into the Calumet & Hecla mine. In 1871 he took charge of the construction of the Portage Lake & Lake Superior Ship Canal, which offered a harbor of refuge and at the same time cut off over 100 miles of the dangerous outside passage around Keweenaw Point. In 1877, with the development of the present Copper Range Mining Company he, with others, organized the Copper Range Railroad which connects the whole copper "range" with the St. Paul Railroad system. In 1867 he organized the Schoolcraft (now the Centennial), Mining Company on the property directly adjoining the Calumet and Hecla, and working on the same conglomerate bed. In 1870, with the late John Stanton, he re-organized the Atlantic Mining Company. In 1890, again with Stanton, he organized the Wolverine Mining Company, and later, in 1897, put through the Baltic Mining Company to which was later added the Champion and Tri-Mountain, this group forming what is known today as "Copper Range."

He has served continuously since the formation of these companies as a Director, and it is very doubtful if anyone today has the early history of this whole district, with the details of the development of the mines, so clearly in mind or who can, from his own recollections, trace that development almost from the start.

hatchets, copper ear-ornaments and copper bracelets. In the second voyage of Cortez it is stated that the savages had copper hatchets. The Spaniards, believing these tools to be some form of impure gold, eagerly exchanged their cheap glass beads for the relatively valueless hatchets, and were greatly chagrined when they found out that the hatchets were only copper.

As these first landings of the Spaniards were in Mexico and Central America, and as it is known that the inhabitants of that section were possessed of a crude working knowledge of metallurgy, the copper they had in their possession was of local origin, and is not to be confused with copper of Lake Superior. In regard to the early metallurgy on the Pacific Coast, Pinelo, an early Spanish chronicler, wrote:—"They built little adobe furnaces, called guayras, and therein deposited the ore, sufficiently wetted and incorporated with others that facilitated their smelting and filled them up with fuel, when the whole began to burn by means of the natural blowing of the wind, which gave better results than the artificial draught of a bellows such as the Spaniards used. This method of smelting was continued at night, and upon the heights of Potosi the lights of more than fifteen thousand little furnaces were seen." Potosi, now a part of Bolivia, was a by-word for mining wealth.

On the North American continent, I believe that the source of all the copper noted in the earliest days can be traced to Lake Superior. In Cabot's voyage in 1497 mention is made that the natives had copper ornaments. Corterial, in his voyage of 1500, in which he cruised as far north as 56 degrees, speaks of the painted natives in clothing of skins of wild animals and having bracelets of copper and silver. In 1524, Verrazano, in his journey in the neighborhood of New York, tells that the natives had "many plates of wrought copper, which they esteeme more than golde," and also that they had beadstones of copper hanging at their ears.

On Cartier's second voyage to the St. Lawrence in 1535 he kidnapped the principal Indian Chief to take back to the old country. As he was held captive aboard the ship, the Indians visited the ship to say farewell, and when they were assured the chief would be returned on the next trip, they were very joyous and brought many presents of skins and "a great knife of red copper that cometh from Saguenay."

This description is interesting, as it is the first mention of copper being fashioned into a knife, and from the name, Saguenay, specifically designating Lake Superior as the source of the copper.

At about this time also, the Indians described to the French the route to follow to find the copper, which was found to be substan-

tially correct, when, at a later day, it was followed by the Jesuits. These Jesuits missionaries penetrated the Lake Superior region as early as 1660, and in their "Relations" they made frequent mention of the occurrence of loose masses of copper on the shores of the lake and questioned their Indian voyageurs as to their origin, yet they were enabled to glean but scanty information as to their true source.

"It frequently happens," said Father Allouez, "that pieces of copper are found weighing from ten to twenty pounds. I have seen several such pieces in the hands of the savages, and, since they are very superstitious, they esteem them as divinities or as presents given them to promote their happiness by the gods that dwell beneath the water. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper wrapped up with their most precious articles. In some families they have been kept more than fifty years, in others they have been kept time out of mind, being cherished as domestic gods."

Father Dablon, who followed in the footsteps of Father Allouez, states that the savages did not agree as to the source of the copper. Some said that it was where the Ontonagon River began and others that it was close to the lake in the clay, and others at the forks and along the east branch of the river. He, too, dwells on the superstitious reverence with which the Indians regarded these copper masses, and in the "Relations for 1669-1670" gives the following Indian legend:—

"After entering Lake Superior, the first place met with containing copper is an island about 40 to 50 leagues from the Saut, opposite a place called Michipicoten. The savages relate that it is a floating island, being sometimes near and at others far off. A long time ago, four savages landed there, having lost their way in a fog, with which the island is frequently invested. It was previous to their acquaintance with the French, and they knew nothing of the use of kettles or hatchets. In cooking their food, as is usual among savages, by heating stones and casting them into birch bark pails containing water, they found that almost all of them were copper. After having completed their feast, they hastened to re-embark, for they were afraid of the lynxes and hares, which here grow to the size of dogs. They took with them the copper stones and plates, but had hardly left before they heard a loud voice exclaiming in an angry tone, "Who are the thieves that carry off the cradle and the toys of my children?" They were very much surprised at the sound, not knowing whence it came. One said it was thunder; another said it was a certain goblin, called Missibizi, the spirit

of the waters, and another that it came from the Memogovissioois, who are marine folk, living constantly under the water. At any rate, this extraordinary voice produced such fear, that one of them died before landing. Shortly after two others died and one alone reached home, who, after relating what happened, also died. Since that time the savages have not dared to visit the island or even to steer in that direction."

This legend is undoubtedly founded on facts, as it is easy to see how the Indians could be poisoned from the oxidized salts of copper and in the resulting delirium their imaginations could have conjured up the strange noises and voices.

The interesting feature of Allouez's and Dablon's writing is that it shows that the Indians of that period were not familiar with the use of copper; that they preserved it in its original worn boulder condition, regarded it as a strange and rare object, to which they attributed superstitious values, as the finding of horseshoes or luckystones is regarded by some people even at this day.

The early records of the Jesuits make frequent mention of the finding of boulders of pure metallic copper on the shores of the Lake. The large size of some of these boulders and the unheard-of occurrence of pure metal gave rise to many conjectures as to their origin and source and led to a hazy belief on the part of some people that there were mountains of solid copper at some unknown place in the thickly-forested section. Even some of the reverend and worthy Fathers let their imaginations run riot, as in the case of Isle Royale, where the finding of an extraordinary large amount of float copper on the shores so excited them that they reported that even the ledges of solid rock gave forth the sound of metallic copper when struck with a hammer. Allusions to some of these statements found their way into the prospectuses of some of the mining companies at later dates.

The first modern mining was started in 1771 by an English company. On the banks of the Ontonagon River there was a large mass of native copper. This had been frequently seen by the early Jesuits, and it was their reports that led to the formation of the English company, under the superintendence of Alexander Henry, of Sault Ste. Marie. This company carried on their work at Miner's River, where the rock is the upper grey sandstone, and on the Ontonagon River, near a mass of native copper. At this point a shaft was sunk 40 feet through reddish clay, at which point red sand rock was reached. Dr. Houghton, in his report of 1841, gives the location of this isolated mass of copper as in the bed of the Ontonagon River, 26 miles by stream from its mouth.

The rugged nature of the country made it rarely visited, as is pointed out by Dr. Houghton who, in 1840, revisited the section nine years after a previous visit and found his work and tools just as he had left them. The work of this English company was a failure, and should be classed as an attempt at mining rather than as mining. They did not even recover the original mass of copper, and it now rests in the Smithsonian Collection at Washington.

To Dr. Douglass Houghton, universally known in his day as the "little doctor," small in stature, but mighty in intellect, physician and scholar, scientist and geologist, explorer, politician and, above all, indefatigable worker, the State of Michigan owes a debt of gratitude that can never be paid. By his own efforts he obtained from the Legislature the small appropriation that made possible his examination and study of the copper country, which, presented in his report of 1841, turned the searchlight on the commercial possibilities of the copper deposits which was followed by the beginning of copper mining in 1844.

Until his report was made, the source of the copper was unknown. The masses and boulders of copper had been widely scattered by glacial action and had been found as far south as Illinois, Indiana and Ohio. One large piece, weighing 140 pounds, was found at Green Bay, Wisconsin. The popular belief, previous to Houghton's work, was that the copper came from the water shed between Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. Dr. Houghton traced the source of the copper to the amygdaloids, traps and conglomerates of Keweenaw Point, the South Shore and Isle Royale.

The credit of discovering, or at least, of recognizing the works of prehistoric miners is given to Samuel O. Knapp, superintendent of the Minnesota mine. In the winter of 1847-48 he noted a line of depression which, on account of its regular course, attracted his attention. Following this indication as displayed along the southern escarpment of a hill, he came to a cavern which he was convinced was an artificial excavation. In cleaning out this cavern he found numerous stone hammers, showing plainly that they had been used in mining by some former crude race. At the bottom of the excavation was found a vein with the ragged projections of copper sticking up, which the ancient miners had not detached. Later, he found another depression, 26 feet deep, filled with clay and mouldering vegetable matter. At a depth of 18 feet in this pit was found a mass of copper 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and 2 feet thick, weighing over six tons. The mass was resting on rotten billets of oak and had been raised up by the ancient workers a distance of five feet.

A short distance from this pit was another excavation into the cliff, where a portion of the vein had been left by these prehistoric workers as a pillar to support the hanging wall.

William H. Stevens discovered similar old trenches near the Forest mine that were 14 feet deep. These were in four lines, following the course of four veins. He also found the remains of a wooden bowl, probably used for baling out water.

C. G. Shaw has called attention to like old workings on Isle Royale. In 1872, S. W. Hill wrote that he had found pits on Isle Royale fifty feet deep. Sir William Logan also reports depressions of this nature on the east shore of the lake, near Maimanse.

J. H. Forster describes the largest piece of float copper ever found as follows: "This mass of copper was found on the Mesnard location. It was so covered with moss and lichen growth that it was recognized with difficulty. It weighed 18 tons and contained very little rocky matter. It had been hammered and manipulated by ancient miners and plainly showed tool marks. Charcoal was found around the mass, the remains of fires used by the early workers to remove the gangue rock."

Mr. Forster also describes the mound that led to the celebrated Calumet find. "Here was a small mound found in the woods, upon which large pine, maple and birch trees were growing. Roots of still older trees were found in the drift. After stripping off the timber a pit, 15 feet deep, was put down reaching solid conglomerate. It was hard rock filled with stamp copper and could not be used by the ancient miners."

Other conspicuous old workings were on the sites of the present Isle Royale and Atlantic mines. The extent of these prehistoric workings was very great. In the Ontonagon district, for a distance of 30 miles, such evidences abound at intermittent intervals. On Keweenaw Point, they can be traced from Eagle River for 12 miles eastward.

As soon as their significance was realized, they could be easily recognized. They showed as shallow depressions in former trenches and pits that had been put down to bed rock, and which had subsequently been filled with the silt and decaying vegetation of centuries' accumulations. The waste dirt that had been thrown out formed gently-curving sides. Over both the embankments and in the filled pits, trees had sprung up, lived their lives, died and been followed by cycles of other trees.

How old these workings are cannot be determined, but there is no doubt of their great antiquity. Mr. Knapp cut down a hemlock tree that was growing on one of the ancient workings on the

old Minnesota mine that had 395 rings of annual growth. There is nothing to prove that this tree may not have been the survivor of several generations of similar trees that grew in the same location. On the other hand, it does not prove that all the workings were of as great an age as represented by the life of this one tree. However, the similarity of all the explored ancient workings, bringing to light the stone hammers, the charcoal that was used to heat the rock, so that by throwing on water it would crack away from the adhering copper, is circumstantial, if not conclusive, proof that they were all made by one race of people who antedated the Indians found in possession of the continent at the time of its European discovery.

These prehistoric workings have an economic as well as historical value. There is not a mine operating today in the district that has not its prehistoric workings. This fact was so well established in the early day that the evidence of ancient work was sought as a guide to present lodes. The development of the Calumet was certainly hastened by the finding of the old mound, and many of the other mines owe votes of thanks to these mysterious, unknown, prehistoric workers.

Any subject that is surrounded by mystery naturally sets up in the minds and imaginations of its investigators different and conflicting views and theories. The prehistoric workings of Lake Superior are no exception to this rule, and we find here two classes of scientists who, reasoning from the same conditions, arrived at radically different conclusions.

Mr. R. Packard, in an article on "Pre-Columbian Copper Mining in North America," published in the Smithsonian Records in 1892, concludes that there is no ground for believing that the work was not done by the Indians of Columbian time and their immediate antecedents.

Warren K. Moorehead, in his elaborate works, "The Stone Age in North America," published in 1910, arrives at a similar conclusion. I herewith quote him:

The conclusion now universally accepted among archaeologists is that there is no reason for attributing the working of the copper deposits or fabrication of the implements to any other people than the Indians. The early explorers found both the northern and southern tribes in this country using implements and ornaments of native copper often in common with those of stone. From South America to Canada, various travelers refer to this metal being in the possession of or employed by the natives. Whether the working of the copper deposits or fabrication of copper implements in this section, thought to have been begun at least

several centuries before, was discontinued before the coming of the white man or whether the industry was continued or, at least, to some extent resumed by the descendants of the pre-Columbian miners and artificers during and after his intrusion is still in dispute. It is doubtful whether this matter will ever be satisfactorily settled.

The evidence of the mounds and of the earlier village sites is to the effect that before the coming of the white men the use of copper had become quite general among the Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi Valley. It is probable that the native metal first became known to them through the accidental discovery of small nuggets among the debris of the glaciers, and, as it quickly came into demand, was traced to its source in the Lake Superior region. These deposits they mined, cutting it into shapes convenient for transportation to their villages, where it was fashioned into articles for their own use or for the purpose of trade with distant tribes.

Nowhere in this entire valley do copper implements however, appear to have entirely replaced those of stone, the use of which was continued until quite recent times. The manufacture of copper implements doubtless extended through several centuries. The Sioux, Winnebago and Dakota of Wisconsin, being nearest the source of supply, possessed, of course, the greatest quantity. Even among them the use of copper articles did not in prehistoric times equal the use of others. Among the outlying tribes in other States copper implements were yet probably somewhat of a luxury, when the intrusion of the Algonquian tribes into Wisconsin made more and more difficult, and finally altogether shut off access, to the Lake Superior mines. It appears certain that the Chippewa, after their occupation of the copper region, did do at least a small amount of digging for the metal which for purposes of trade, or for other uses, they found of value. This continued until the arrival of the traders laden with desirable articles caused a suspension of mining operations and diverted the attention of the Indian from mining to other pursuits.

It will be seen from the foregoing opinions that no great antiquity is ascribed to the ancient workings. I confess that it is with disappointment that I accept these deductions. Having personally seen these old workings, almost obliterated by time, with their treasures of stone hammers and copper implements, the relics of a bygone people, it was easy and natural to follow the trail blazed by Foster and others connecting these people with the mound-builders. But before I present this phase of the case I wish to give a little more information about the extent of the workings themselves.

In all the literature on this subject the expression "prehistoric mines and mining" is used. In the strict sense of the word "mining" these old workings are improperly described. It is true that they were mines, as metal was produced therefrom, but they were

not underground mines, opened in the usual manner by shafts and drifts. Rather, they were open cuts, made to bed-rock, from which the loose copper was extracted from the disintegrated vein matter. The solid rock of the veins themselves was only penetrated for a shallow distance of a few feet at the most. For this reason, in these "gophering-like" operations the linear distances covered were of great extent, probably in the aggregate amounting to 50 miles. If all these workings should be united in one continuous stretch, they would probably form a solid line of trenches five miles long. One remarkable feature of this ancient work was the almost intuitive genius displayed in following the veins, which even at this day sometimes baffles the skill of mining engineers equipped with all modern devices to aid them in such work.

If we assume that five miles of continuous workings would represent all this old work, it is possible to form a rough estimate of the total amount of copper recovered. If we assume that these old workings penetrated the solid rock for an average distance of five feet, it would give 132,000 square feet as a total of all the work done. It is known that they did not remove the rock for the entire width of the vein or lode; that they did not recover the very fine copper or the larger masses, but only such portions as they could break off. On the other hand, they selected the richest parts of the veins to mine. In modern mining the yield in copper per square foot mined can be taken as 40 pounds. This includes all the course and fine copper which would be lost by these ancient workers. Balancing the rich, selected ground of the ancient miners with the losses in their mining, we should have 132,000 square feet, yielding 40 pounds per square foot, or 5,600,000 pounds of copper. It is doubtful if they recovered over 25 per cent of this amount, so this rough calculation would give them 1,500,000 pounds. The average annual output of the Lake Superior mines in recent years has been 220,000,000 pounds, or 700,000 pounds per day on a 300 working-day year. So all the copper that was taken away by the prehistoric miners would about equal the output of two days of our present mines. Assuredly, these ancient miners did not have to worry over the conservation of their natural resources.

Insignificant as was their output of copper in the light of our present civilization, it must be borne in mind that it satisfied all their requirements, even when distributed over the vast area, as is shown by the relics we have found and are still finding. Implements and ornaments of native copper are distributed commonly or sparingly throughout a large portion of the eastern half of the United States and in some States west of the Mississippi River.

Outside of Wisconsin and Michigan, numbers of them have been recovered in Minnesota, Iowa, Illinois, Ohio and West Virginia, and also from the mounds and stone graves and village sites in the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina and Georgia. Mr. Clarence B. Moore, whose explorations have been very extensive, has reported their existence in the mounds of Florida and elsewhere in the extreme south. From five mounds on the St. Johns River in Florida he obtained ornaments of sheet copper with repoussé designs, beads of sheet copper, beads of wood, shell and limestone copper coated, copper effigies of the turtle and serpent and piercing implements of copper. Dr. C. C. Abbott long ago recorded the existence of copper implements in the Delaware Valley.

While it is probable that many copper implements were fabricated in the vicinity of the workings, it is now perfectly clear that fragments of the native ore were also carried away to be cut up and fashioned into implements elsewhere. On the extensive village sites at Two Rivers, Sheboygan, Green Lake and elsewhere, have been obtained numerous small chips, scales and fragments of copper, plainly indicating that the manufacture of implements was carried on there. Elsewhere in Wisconsin have been found lumps of the metal exhibiting tool marks and other indications of working.

The following quotation from Mr. Moorehead is interesting in this connection

Copper seems to have played an important part in aboriginal life in this country. As the natives possessed neither gold nor silver and because silver ornaments are extremely rare, one may say that silver was not in use; copper appealed to them as being something beyond the ordinary, if not possessing supernatural powers. There was no other substance which they could hammer into shape, or slightly anneal and work more easily. No other malleable material possessed that bright, beautiful color and was capable of such polish. Therefore, copper appealed to the aborigines, and they made use of it more as an ornament, or a totem, than for ordinary utility; that is, save in the "copper belt," where it was so common that tools were made of it.

What the northern Indians received in exchange for the copper has always been a mystery to me. In Wisconsin and Michigan, where drift copper occurred in large quantities, and where it still may be found, it is likely that the natives carried on an extensive trade in copper, and that the peoples of Ohio passed it on, one may suppose, to the south. This trade was extensive, because not only in our museums are there thousands of copper objects, but there are many more in the hands of private collectors, and in the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, where there has been much digging, great quantities of hatchets, plates, nose-rings and spools are dug up from time to time.

One may question whether the presence of copper in the Ohio Valley really means extensive aboriginal commerce or trade. I say Ohio Valley because more mound copper is found there than elsewhere, although the south should by no means be excluded. Copper and other foreign materials abound in the middle and lower Mississippi Valley. Yet upon the shores of Lake Superior, about the copper range, on the streams and lakes of Wisconsin and Michigan, where lived the Indians who possessed so much copper that they made of it hatchets, fishhooks, knives, spear-points, etc., usually are to be found no southern types save a few pipes and problematical forms in slate. What did these northern natives receive in return for the quantities of copper which they must have bartered? Did they receive bird-stones, gorgets, pipes, etc.? Their bird-stones are very like those of Indiana and Ohio, yet they have a broad bird effigy, usually with ears on both sides of the head, which is not found, save occasionally, in southern Ohio and Indiana, and seldom in the south, where mound copper is common. Their gorgets and pipes appear to be local. It has occurred to me that the peoples of Indiana and Ohio, and possibly the south, made raids in the copper country, or found copper nuggets in the drift, or mined their own copper, or robbed the northern peoples of such copper as they wanted. If there had been any extensive aboriginal trade, we should surely find more evidence of it.

I shall now present the brief of those scientists who reached the conclusion that the prehistoric miners were the mound builders, whose monuments were scattered so profusely over our continent.

Mr. J. W. Foster was one of the ablest advocates on this side, and in his book, the "Prehistoric Races of the United States of America," published in 1873, he sums up his conclusions which I quote verbatim:

First. That as a race their origin extends back to a remote antiquity, but all attempts to trace that origin to a common fountain of life, as with the other races now inhabitating the earth, soon involves the investigator in the mazes of conjecture.

Second. That they possess a conformation of skull which would link them to the autochthones of this hemisphere, a conformation represented in the people who developed the ancient civilization of Mexico and Central America.

Third. That whilst their manners and customs conformed in many respects to those of ancient races of the old world, they may be regarded as the result of man's contact with external nature rather than an inheritance through successive generations, and therefore that they are of little importance in tracing ethnic relations.

Fourth. That during their occupancy of the Mississippi Valley, they developed traits in their domestic economy and their civil relations which distinguished them by a well-marked line of division from the Indian who was found in possession of the continent at the time of its European discovery. Their monuments indicate that they had entered upon a career of civilization; that they

lived in stationary communities, cultivating the soil and relying on its generous yield as a means of support; they clothed themselves in part, at least, in garments regularly spun and woven; they molded clay and carved stone, even of the most obdurate character, into images representing animate objects, including even the human face and form, with a close adherence to nature; they mined and cast copper into a variety of useful forms; they quarried mica, chert and slate for personal adornment, for domestic use or for the chase; unlike Indians who were ignorant of the curative property of salt, they collected brine of the salines into earthen vessels, moulded in baskets, which they evaporated into a form adapted for transportation; they erected an elaborate line of defense, stretching for many hundred miles, to guard against sudden interruptions of enemies; they had a national religion, in which the elements were objects of supreme adoration; temples were erected upon platform mounds and watch fires lighted upon the highest summits, and, in the celebration of the mysteries of their faith, human sacrifices were probably offered up. The magnitude of their structures, involving an infinitude of labor, such only as could be expended in a community where cheap food prevailed, and the great extent of their commercial relations, reaching to widely separated portions of the continent, imply the existence of a stable and efficient government based on the subordination of the masses.

As the civilization of the Old World, growing out of the peculiar conditions of soil and climate, developed certain forms of art which are original and unique, so on this continent we see the crude conception in the truncated pyramid, as displayed in Wisconsin, Ohio and Illinois and the accomplished result in the stone-faced foundations of the temples of Uxmal and Palenque. And finally the distinctive character of the mound builders' structures and also the traditions which have been preserved would indicate that this people were expelled from the Mississippi Valley by a fierce and barbarous race and that they found refuge in the more genial climate of Central America, where developed those germs of civilization originally planted in their northern homes into a perfection which has elicited the admiration of every modern explorer.

From Mr. Foster's deductions it is clearly seen that he believed that the Mound Builders were the people who carried on the prehistoric mining at Lake Superior. Such an hypothesis leaves the door open to the interesting but illusive route that has been followed by so many writers. Who were the Mound Builders? Where did they come from and where did they go? What is their relation to the Cliff Dwellers, the Aztecs, the Toltecs, Mayas, Incas and their predecessors? Did those predecessors originate on this continent, where we know man existed in the glacial epoch, or did they come from Asia by the stepping stones of the Pacific Islands, as has been suggested by G. Reginald Enock in his fascinating book, "The

Secret of the Pacific?" As Mr. Foster so aptly says, "All attempts to trace that origin to a common fountain of life involves the investigator in the mazes of conjecture."

That they were here and their work well done, is known. Just who they were remains for the future to answer, so we are obliged to let them rest with the old prayer of "Peace to their ashes."

It is a long jump from prehistoric mining to modern mining—just how long no man can say. It is also "some jump," to use the slang expression, from the beginning of modern mining down to the present-day mining.

In this last period of 70 years, from 1844 to 1914, wonderful transformations have taken place. Modern cities have sprung up out of a primeval forest. Modern railways run over the old trails and floating palaces land their passengers at re-enforced concrete docks. Twenty thousand men find employment in the mines which hold the distinction of being the deepest mines in the world. Each day these mines turn out about 35,000 tons of copper rock, which yields 700,000 pounds of copper, which is worth $105,000 when copper is selling at 15 cents per pound, as it is at this writing. The gross annual income of the mines is about $33,000,000. This shows what an important industry it is and how proud the State of Michigan should be of its "Copper Country."

However, this development has not been accomplished without its trials and hardships. Into its history are woven many tales of blighted hopes and failures—vast sums of money spent in mining that failed to produce profitable returns—that have been overshadowed in the light of the great successes of the profitable mines.

In different sections of the copper range, mines have started up, flourished for a period and died. Mining started first in the Ontonagon district and was closely followed by work in Keweenaw County—a leap of over a hundred miles—and for a time these two sections ran a neck and neck race for supremacy. With the opening up of the range between these two extremes, from Calumet to Portage Lake, with its group of great mines, embracing the Calumet and Hecla, Osceola, Wolverine, Tamarack and Quincy, the production of copper from Ontonagon and Keweenaw became insignificant when compared to that of these new producers. So small, relatively, where the outputs from the ends of the range that it might almost be said that mining had ceased in these two sections.

Then, from this center district, mining began to spread in both directions. To the north, in Keweenaw County, the Mohawk and Ahmeek were opened up and proved to be profitable producers; on

the south end, reaching towards the Ontonagon district, the Copper Range Consolidated, with its three mines, the Baltic, Tri-Mountain and Champion, entered the list of dividend-payers.

In the gaps between these paying mines, new mines have started, old mines reopened, and mines of doubtful value have continued to work with a patience and persistence that at last, I am pleased to note, bid fair to be rewarded. All this time the mines in Keweenaw and Ontonagon have been smoldering, occasionally bursting forth in renewed activity, when fanned by the winds of a high price of copper.

The copper mining district of Michigan is expanding. It is again reaching out in both directions towards the two extremities of its copper belt. It is true that it is a slow and cautious movement, but it is present, nevertheless. At the north, the Keweenaw Copper Company is carefully and thoroughly exploring and studying its large mineral land holdings. At the south end, the Lake, Mass and Victoria mines are working in the Ontonagon district, while still further to the south, in the Porcupine section, the signal-fire of the White Pine mine, the baby of the Calumet and Hecla family, is lighting the way to a new mining field that I believe will extend to the western limits of our State at the Montreal River.

The "Copper Belt" in Michigan extends from Wisconsin to the end of Keweenaw Point, a distance of 133 miles, and contains 860 square miles. No one can tell how much of this vast area, the major part of which has not been explored, will prove to be productive, but there is little doubt that the future production will be very great.

For the last few years the output of Michigan's copper mines has been about stationary. For a number of years Michigan held the record of being the largest copper-producing State, losing this commanding position a few years ago to Montana, which in turn was obliged to yield it to Arizona, so today Michigan stands third in the list. But Michigan has tremendous possibilities in its large unexplored area, and at some future day it may regain its lost position.

The future of Michigan's copper mines in common with that of the other copper mines of the United States depends largely on the price of the metal. The selling price of copper is subject to great fluctuations, often reaching such a low figure that a large number of mines produce their copper at a loss, while others sell their copper at cost. There has never been any community of interests in the copper business—no one large interest sufficiently strong to maintain an equitable fixed price of the metal. The result has been

disastrous competition—a useless wasting of our natural resources. Col. R. M. Thompson, at a recent meeting of the Copper Producers' Association, clearly explains this. He said that the prodigality with which our great copper reserves are being extracted from the ground and sacrificed to other nations is nothing short of an economic crime. He pointed out that the more enlightened nations of Europe are alive to the necessity of conserving their natural resources. Germany has been especially solicitous of husbanding her potash resources. Yet America, which is producing around 60 per cent of the world's copper, is selling 60 per cent of that product, not to American manufacturers, but to foreigners, who work it up and sell it at large profits in finished articles. He said that the future, when we look 50 years ahead, is an alarming one from the copper producing standpoint. It is a question if any of the big producing mines of today will be producing 50 years hence, with the possible exception of three or four. He said that the time had come for a campaign of education to be urged in behalf of conserving one of our greatest national resources, which cannot be restored when exhausted.

Michigan's copper mines have suffered more from this cause than any others. It is time for its citizens seriously to consider this question and to use their influence in protecting one of their State's most valuable assets.

I have purposely refrained in this paper from giving a detailed description of the mines and the usual statistical data, as I realize that anyone who would be interested in the subject would have a general, if not a working, knowledge of them. For any of those who have not, I have prepared an illustrated supplement, a sort of Baedeker of the Copper Country as an auxiliary to this paper.

# PROMINENT NEWSPAPER MEN IN MICHIGAN

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By WILLIAM STOCKING

# PROMINENT NEWSPAPER MEN IN MICHIGAN.

BY WILLIAM STOCKING.[1]

IT would be impossible within the limits of a paper intended for such an occasion as this,[2] to mention all the editors or even all the papers that have had their day of activity and of transitory or local fame. Farmer's History of Detroit and Michigan recites the names with some particulars of 253 papers that had been started in Detroit alone up to 1885, and these would be multiplied several fold if the whole state were included. Each carried with it some personal ambition, some hope of newspaper influence and distinction, but only a few obtained a name that could be considered at all enduring. Those that can claim mention here were mostly grouped about certain periods of popular ferment and agitation, when new issues were taking form and when the public mind was especially open to new impressions.

The golden age of the editorial writer in Michigan was about midway between the establishment of the paper which we celebrate and the present time. In the early fifties, in most cases, there was only one editorial writer to each paper, and he was known by name to nearly all his readers. The news service was lightly regarded; the editorials were the main feature, and the name of the individual was as much in the minds of the public as the name of the paper. The growing state was then departing from some of its old traditions and methods, notably with respect to internal improvements and the settlement of its lands, while in national politics the feeling between the friends and opponents of slavery extension was becoming very bitter. Out of the agitation grew a

[1] William Stocking was born in Waterbury, Conn., December 11, 1840, and was educated in the Waterbury Public schools, Williston Seminary, Easthampton, Mass., and Yale College. Soon after graduation in 1865 he commenced newspaper work as city editor of the *Hartford Evening Press,* of which Charles Dudley Warner was editor. He came to Michigan in November 1867 as managing editor of the *Detroit Post.* For the next 30 years his chief occupation was in connection with that paper and its Republican successors. He served in the various capacities of managing editor, editor-in-chief, Legislative correspondent at Lansing, editorial correspondent at Washington, political and special writer. For the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of the Republican Party, July 6, 1879, he contributed to the *Post and Tribune* a comprehensive account of the epoch making convention "Under the Oaks" at Jackson, which was published in book form. His investigations in this connection put him in touch with the work and spirit of the earnest newspaper men of that stirring period and suggested the preparation of the paper that is herewith presented. For the past eleven years Mr. Stocking has been associated with the Detroit Board of Commerce, and has been among other things a liberal contributor to the literature of the Board.

[2] This paper was prepared for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Michigan Essay, held at Detroit, June, 1909.

new party, which was very largely fostered and engineered by one set of editors and bitterly opposed by another.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1850 appeared an aggressive and belligerent delegate from Jackson named Wilbur F. Storey, who at one time created a sensation by charging Governor John S. Barry with undue exercise of his official influence on the delegates. He moved that the Governor be excluded from the floor, a motion which was not adopted, but which led to the exercise of a greater discretion on the part of that official.

Before this time Storey had published papers in Laporte, Indiana and Mason, Mich., established the Jackson *Patriot,* studied law, served as postmaster at Jackson, and run a drug-store in the same city. His success with the *Patriot* and his aggressive character gave him prominence in Democratic circles and in 1853 he was induced to take a half interest in the Detroit *Free Press* of which he became sole editor. He gathered about him a brilliant staff, established the first Sunday edition published in the city, created a city news department which before this could hardly be said to have existed, and devoted his personal writing largely to politics. He had an admiration for Lewis Cass and very little for any one else; he detested the anti-slavery agitators, supported the Kansas-Nebraska act, denounced the first Republican convention as "a body of unmitigated abolitionists and disunionists," and conducted a vitriolic though losing campaign against the Republican ticket and all its candidates. As an illustration of the manner in which political feeling warped the news instinct, it is noted that the *Free Press* gave only 56 lines of news space to the proceedings of the Jackson convention, a gathering which revolutionized the politics of the country; and the paper never published even an abstract of the platform.

Mr. Storey remained a re-actionary and irreconcileable to the last. He maintained the right of secession and published in the *Free Press* an editorial, threatening a "fire in the rear" of the Union armies in case the government sought by force to resist that right.

In 1861 Mr. Storey became owner of the Chicago *Times* which was afterwards so disloyal in its utterances that in 1863 General Burnside, in command of that department, ordered the suppression of the paper, an order, which was, however, revoked by President Lincoln. Mr. Storey afterwards, without abating anything of vigor on the editorial page of the *Times,* developed the other departments so as to make it the most complete newspaper in the West. He made a fortune in the *Times,* but later lost both it and his mind, was placed under guardianship, and died October 29, 1884. Per-

sonally Mr. Storey was cold, morose and uncompanionable. His employes feared him and few others liked him. He had a wider fame and fewer friends than any other newspaper man that ever lived in Michigan.

But if the gaze of Mr. Storey and a few other conservative editors was still turned toward Cass and the setting sun, there were other editors who were turning toward Chandler, Blair, the Howards, and the rising light. As early as 1842 Warren Isham had published for six months a daily anti-slavery paper in Detroit, called the *Times,* and the Free Soil or Liberty party had made a showing in every state election since 1841. In 1848 it cast over 10,000 votes for President, and in 1849 a combination of Whigs and Free Soilers came within 4,500 votes of electing its State ticket. The compromise measures of 1850 and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 intensified feeling on the subject, and led to the desire for a union of all the forces that were opposed to the further extension of slavery. The movement which led to this combination was largely a newspaper movement, and the editor most conspicuous in it was Joseph Warren of the *Tribune.* Warren came to Detroit from Auburn, N. Y., in 1852 and plunged at once into local and state affairs. In 1853 he was the recognized newspaper leader in a bitter contest over the question of dividing the school funds between public and parochial schools. He was one of the first to advocate a combination of the anti-slavery elements, and his position as editor of the leading Whig paper of the state, gave his counsel peculiar force. He was also a member of the Whig State Central Committee. Yet without consulting either his business or political associates, he boldly took ground in favor of disbanding both the Whig and Free Soil parties and of the organization by a mass convention of a new party. It was with extreme satisfaction that he saw this accomplished and that he took a prominent part in securing the convention, which was held at Jackson July 24, 1854, and in naming the party. Subsequently he was as vigorous a supporter of the new regime as Storey was of the old. Between the two the controversy was not only bitter but personal. For one of his worst attacks upon Storey, Warren was arrested for criminal libel. His friends, foreseeing sure conviction, secured a pardon in advance from Governor Bingham, and he so escaped imprisonment. Warren is believed to have been the first editor in the country to denounce General McClellan as a failure, even when the General was at the height of his popularity. At a subsequent period, because President Lincoln did not move fast enough toward the abolition of slavery,

Warren wrote an editorial in his bitterest vein denouncing Lincoln as incompetent if not a traitor. The proof of this editorial was accidentally seen by a subordinate who managed to delay it until pressure could be brought upon Warren to withhold it.

Mr. Warren was described by one who was afterwards associated with him in editorial work as "a sedate, gentle, kind-hearted man personally, but one who wrote with a pen dipped in gall. When engaged in controversy nothing was too bitter for him to say." As genial and kindly in his family relations as any man in the city, he was intolerant in politics. To him every northern man who favored the Fugitive Slave Law or the Kansas-Nebraska bill was a "Dough-face," as during the war every Democrat was a "Copperhead." He retired from editorial life as poor as when he entered it, and secured a clerkship in the Post-office Department at Washington, where he spent the last ten years of his life. He died in 1890.

Of a very different type personally from his two contemporaries, but sometimes equally severe in his writings, was Rufus Hosmer, editor of the *Enquirer*. He was rotund, a good liver, a good fellow, and one of the most noted wits of Detroit. He had for some time been connected with the *Advertiser* but left it in January 1854, because of its conservative tendencies. He aided in starting the *Enquirer,* which supported the new party movement. After about a year the *Enquirer* was merged in the *Free Democrat,* and finally absorbed the *Advertiser*. Hosmer secured control of the combination which he made radically Republican. He was on good terms with Warren, but was always at war with Storey. He could use invective when he chose, but often indulged in a vein of sarcasm which was equally effective. He was said to be the only man in Michigan who could "make old Storey squirm." He was proud of his literary quality, which gives point to a story which is told of an interview he had with his crony, William Gray.[1] As they met about ten o'clock one morning at the usual place, Gray said:

"Rufus, a business man asked me this morning what paper he should advertise in and I told him in the *Enquirer* by all means."

"Well, that was very good of you, Billy," said Hosmer, "and what reason did you give for this partiality?"

"I told him," replied Gray, "that he should make his announcements in your paper because there was nothing in the editorials which would withdraw attention from the advertisements."

This is one of the first suggestions I have heard of that com-

[1]William Gray, a noted lawyer of Detroit, the father of William J. and Robert T. Gray, of Detroit.

mercialism which has sometimes since caused the counting-room to dominate the editorial page. Hosmer went to the Lansing *Republican* as editor in 1855 and after a year or two there disappeared from the Michigan newspaper field. He died in 1861.

In the course of the controversies in which these three pioneers in personal journalism indulged they sometimes resorted not only to strong language but to caricature. Some of the wood-cuts looked as if they might have been cut with a jack-knife on a shingle, but they never produced anything which was quite such an abomination in coloring, such distortion in drawing, or so corrupting to the manners and morals of youth as the so-called comic supplement of to-day.

Less conspicuous but equally sincere in support of the movement was James F. Conover, editor of the *Free Democrat,* who was one of the secretaries of the Jackson convention. The next day, in his paper, he praised the platform as specific, bold, and uncompromising, went over the ticket in detail, and predicted its success. Mr. Conover was a scholarly writer, free generally from the personalities which were so characteristic of the period. He continued work as editorial writer on different Republican papers till 1863 when he became editor-in-chief of the *Advertiser and Tribune,* under which name a number of other papers had been merged. In 1871 he resigned and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was for many years rector of St. Luke's Church in Kalamazoo and continued in the ministry there and in Detroit till his death.

Among the old Whig and Free Soil papers there was one dissenting voice to the new movement. The Detroit *Advertiser,* a Whig paper, owned by E. A. Wales and edited by Alpheus S. Williams, denounced the results of the Jackson convention and called for a separate Whig convention, which was held October 4, 1854, at Marshall. The only result of this attempt was to show that to revive the Whig party as a separate organization was hopeless. Mr. Williams had little further opportunity to achieve editorial distinction, but he added to the fame of the state by brilliant service as a general in the Union Army during the Civil War, the only corps commander from Michigan. He also represented the First Michigan district in the 44th and 45th Congresses. A timely movement for the erection of a monument to the memory of his military achievements is just now being agitated.[1]

These were the principal Detroit editorial participants in the

[1]Under the leadership of the Michigan Commandery of the Loyal Legion, the sum of $30,000 has been raised for an equestrian statue of General Williams; and the City of Detroit has appropriated $10,000 for a pedestal. The statue is being executed by Henry Merwin Shrady of Elmsford, N. Y., and the pedestal is being designed by Alpheus Williams Chittenden, architect, of Detroit, a grandson of General Williams.

stirring political movements from 1854 till 1860, but the state furnished a number of others almost equally prominent. Induced by circular letters which had been sent out from leading Whig papers in the East asking what the future policy of the party should be, Charles V. DeLand, editor of the Jackson *Citizen,* secured a conference of Whig editors at Jackson in February 1854. Henry Barns of Detroit was chairman and DeLand was secretary. There was no immediate result of this conference. Mr. DeLand also attended a conference of Whig and Free Soil editors at the office of the Detroit *Tribune* in March, at which Joseph Warren unfolded his plan of disbanding the old parties and forming a new one. To this plan DeLand gave his assent and he was one of its most efficient supporters. He was fully as earnest as Warren and was much more versatile. In addition to giving editorial support, he attended conferences and conventions and used his personal influence to bring reluctant Whigs into line. Mr. DeLand's subsequent life was one of great activity. He served in the army as colonel of the First Michigan sharp-shooters and was breveted brigadier-general. As editor of the Jackson *Citizen,* afterward editor of the Saginaw *Enterprise,* State Senator from the Saginaw district, and then again a resident of Jackson and editorial contributor to the *Citizen,* "Vic" DeLand was always at the front, one of the best known politicians in the State. He died on his farm near Jackson in 1903.

Intimately associated with Mr. DeLand in the earlier conferences were Zephaniah B. Knight of the Pontiac *Gazette,* George A. Fitch of the Kalamazoo *Telegraph,* Aaron B. Turner of the Grand Rapids *Eagle,* and Harvey B. Rowlsen of the Hillsdale *Standard.* They were all prominent in the politics of the time. Mr. Turner started the Grand Rapids *Eagle* in 1844, and for over 40 years after that was the leading editor and one of the leading politicians of Western Michigan; as Mr. Rowlsen was, for over 30 years, a conspicuous figure in the newspaper and political activities of Southern Michigan.

Among the younger men in the convention was De Witt C. Leach, one of the Genesee county delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1850. He moved to Traverse City in 1867, and bought from Morgan Bates the Grand Traverse *Herald* which he edited for many years. He was an enthusiast about the Grand Traverse region and probably did more than any one else to make the possibilities of that region known. He was State Librarian from 1855 to 1857, represented Grand Traverse County in the Constitutional Convention of 1867, and the Grand Traverse district in the 35th and

36th Congresses. He lived till 1909, nearly sixty years after his entry into public life.

This paper is intended as a record of those who have passed away and not of the living, but I cannot forbear mention of three who still survive. Too young to be counted as one of the members, a Jackson lad named James O'Donnell was an eager listener to the Convention proceedings and from them received his first political impressions. Reaching adult life he was for many years editor and proprietor of the Jackson *Citizen,* was twice mayor of that city, served the district four terms as member of Congress and was twice a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor. He is now living in retirement.

Among the younger members of the Convention was a German American Detroiter who had not yet entered upon the work that has since made him conspicuous. He is still a public-spirited citizen of Detroit, where he has held a number of positions of trust and where he has been an editor for over 40 years, the most prominent German newspaper man in the State, August Marxhausen,[1] editor of the *Abend Post.*

Francis B. Way, who established the *Branch County Journal,* came to Detroit in 1849 and was the first publisher of the Detroit *Tribune.* He attended one of the earliest conferences of Whig editors and took active part in the subsequent campaign. He is now living in Detroit in his 82nd year.

I have spoken chiefly of Whig and Republican editors because the period gave them the greatest prominence. But there were not lacking Democratic editors with zeal and courage for an up-hill fight. Mr. Storey's successor on the Jackson *Patriot* was Joseph L. Titus, who commenced editorial work on the *Freeman's Journal* of Cooperstown, N. Y. He succeeded Mr. Storey on the Jackson *Patriot* in 1851, established the *Livingston Democrat* in Howell in 1857 and edited this till 1890 when he retired. Mr. Titus remained a staunch Democrat till the campaign of 1896, when he repudiated the Bryan ticket and the platform which it represented. They were not Jeffersonian, they were not Jacksonian, they were not Democratic, and he would have none of them. He was an open bolter and took place as a candidate for presidential elector on the forlorn hope headed by Palmer. He died in Los Angeles, Cal., in 1908, at the age of 88.

I have had occasion a number of times in making these notes to question the scriptural assertion that "The wicked shall not

[1]Mr. Marxhausen died December 27, 1910.

live out half his days," for I have found that a number of the fighting editors of these early times lived long past their 80th year and some of them past their 90th.

I have noted also that the ambitious editors of these early days were not content to establish one paper. Elihu B. Pond, who was even more conspicuous in Democratic journalism than Mr. Titus, started first the Coldwater *Sentinel,* and afterwards took possession of the Ann Arbor *Argus.* Both his paper and his personality were for many years powers in the Democratic politics of the State and especially of Washtenaw County, which was then hotly disputed political territory.

W. W. Woolnaugh established the *Western Citizen,* a Democratic paper, in Battle Creek in 1845. For about 60 years after that he published or edited papers except during a short interval when he was at Coldwater. His politics were as variable as his newspapers were changeable, being successively Democratic, Whig, Republican, and again Democratic.

Eagerness to hear from the front during the war gave a great stimulus to the news service of Detroit papers and so lessened the relative importance of the editorial page. It was in this period that James E. Scripps first came into prominence. Mr. Scripps came to Detroit as commercial editor of the *Advertiser* in 1859, secured an interest in the paper in 1861, helped bring about its consolidation with the *Tribune* in 1862, and was business manager of the consolidated paper. He brought new blood into the concern, spent money freely for news, and received a good return. But he was never satisfied with the afternoon paper which was in those days a repetition of the morning edition, with a little telegraphic and local news added. He wanted to make that edition a smaller and cheaper paper separate from the morning issue and with news well condensed. His associates disagreed with him on this and other matters. He resigned his position in 1872, bought out the job printing office and in 1873 carried out his favorite idea of a cheap afternoon paper by starting the *Evening News.* It was the first paper in Detroit to make use of the personal interview, and introduced other new features, some of them considered at the time highly "sensational." The paper lost money heavily the first year, and Mr. Scripps was obliged to borrow all he could on his personal credit and induce relatives to join in the venture. The tide then turned and he lived to see the *News* one of the best money-making papers in the West, and to see it absorb the last one of the old Republican morning papers which had scoffed at his first venture. The Art Museum and Scripps Park and Library are testimonies to

the public spirit with which he used part of his accumulated profits. Mr. Scripps had a thorough appreciation of the importance of news gathering and good discrimination in the selection of agents for doing the work. He once said to the writer "I am always looking in newspaper work for a man who can do some one thing a little bit better than anybody else," a method of specializing work in which he succeeded admirably.

In his earliest efforts to improve the *Advertiser,* Mr. Scripps brought to Detroit William S. George, who had received training on the Springfield *Republican,* then considered an excellent school of journalism. Mr. George did good service on different departments of the paper, but he was not a good team-worker,—he liked to have his own way in everything too well. In 1866 he sold his stock in the Detroit enterprise, took the editorship of the Lansing *Republican,* and soon afterwards secured for W. S. George & Co. the contract for the state printing. He was prominent in newspaper and political affairs from that time till his death in December 1881. From 1868 till 1873 Stephen D. Bingham was editor of the Lansing *Republican,* Mr. George confining himself mostly to the business affairs of the paper and the State Printing establishment. After retiring from the paper Mr. Bingham became postmaster at Lansing. He was also chairman of the Republican State Central Committees for three terms.

Closely following the war period came the advent of another prominent figure in Michigan newspaper work. In 1867 George Willard bought from the versatile Woolnough the Battle Creek *Journal.* Mr. Willard, a resident of Battle Creek most of the time since 1836, had a classical education, had studied for the ministry, was rector of Episcopal churches in Coldwater, Battle Creek, and Kalamazoo, and when he finally abandoned the church for a secular and political occupation, showed as much zeal in the latter as he had in the former. He was a delegate to several State conventions, was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1867, a delegate to the National Republican Convention of 1872, a member of the State Board of Education for six years, a Regent of the State University for ten years, a member of the State Legislature one term, and of Congress two terms. He was delegate to five general conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was a member of the United States Monetary Commission of 1876. In addition to all these activities he managed to publish a pretty good Republican paper till 1878 when he joined the Greenback ranks and took part in joint debates with one of the most capable supporters of the hard-money view. After that campaign he renewed

his Republican affiliations and maintained his political and newspaper activities till past his eightieth year.

The campaign of 1872 wrought notable changes in the personnel and tone of Michigan papers. The *Advertiser and Tribune* which was by inheritance a Republican paper had become very critical of the Grant administration and of many Republican measures and tendencies. Those prominently connected with it were in open sympathy with the Liberal party movement and if Charles Francis Adams or Lyman Trumbull had been nominated for President at Cincinnati the paper would have supported the ticket. But when news of Greeley's nomination came Charles K. Backus, who was the editorial head of the paper, stumped into the news-room with the remark: "Here's a most promising movement gone to hell," and began writing the headlines, at the same time directing the make-up of the paper. James E. Scripps, business manager, came up from the counting-room and urged that the paper fly the Greeley flag. Henry E. Baker, then news editor, a worshipper of Horace Greeley, whose portrait he kept on his desk till the day of his death, gave the same advice. Baker soon retired, but a hot controversy continued between Backus and Scripps until the forms were sent down. The paper gave the Republican ticket a lukewarm support throughout the campaign, but it was said that not a member of the staff voted the ticket.

Mr. Backus who on this occasion saved the *Advertiser and Tribune* from a course that would have been disastrous to the paper without hurting the party, rendered a notable service to the paper and party alike in 1878. At the spring elections that year a Greenback wave swept over the State carrying some of the strongest Republican as well as Democratic counties. Some of the Republican leaders said that the movement was only temporary and professed no concern but Mr. Backus saw in it an alarming significance. As editor-in-chief of the *Post and Tribune*, as the paper was then called, he commenced at once a campaign of education on the currency question. Some of his articles were long and painfully statistical. Some scoffers called them dry, but they furnished readers of the paper and speakers on the stump with the essential facts that were at the basis of the whole controversy, and contributed materially to the success of the campaign. Mr. Backus came to Detroit from Hartford in 1865 and was connected with the *Advertiser and Tribune* and its successor, the *Post and Tribune*, till 1881. He was a thorough newspaper man and a prudent political adviser.

The Cincinnati convention which caused the little comedy in the

*Advertiser and Tribune* office made serious trouble in the *Free Press* office. Henry N. Walker and Freeman Norvell, both old school Democrats, controlled the paper. The combination of a protective tariff abolitionist with an anti-slavery Democrat was too much for them, and they denounced the ticket. A storm of remonstrance from Democratic leaders followed, but they were obstinate and the only way out seemed to be for them to sell their interest in the paper. This gave William E. Quinby the opportunity to obtain a controlling interest. Under Mr. Quinby the paper supported the Greeley ticket and after that gave a rational support to Democratic men and measures till 1896 when it denounced the free-silver heresy and at the close of that campaign declared itself independent in politics. Mr. Quinby, who had been connected with the paper ever since his graduation from Michigan University in 1861, made the most of the opportunity then offered. He vastly improved the news service and literary tone of the paper, gathered about him a very capable staff, introduced to the public a number of new writers, catered to the taste for humor, established a London edition and gave the *Free Press* a wider fame than any other Detroit paper ever had. Under his administration it was a rule that no one connected with the *Free Press* should be a candidate for any political office. He withdrew from active connection with the paper to accept the position of minister to the Hague under the first Cleveland administration, but afterwards resumed the connection which he retained till his death in 1900.

Intimately associated with Mr. Quinby for a quarter of a century in the conduct of the *Free Press* was Mr. A. G. Boynton, an attorney and formerly police-justice. In 1872 Mr. Boynton purchased from Henry N. Walker a quarter interest in the paper, and from that time until ill health compelled his retirement in 1897 he was the principal editorial writer. Without being an extreme partisan he supported with ability the main policies of the Democratic party and stood high in the counsels of its leaders. He was earnest in the advocacy of clean municipal administration and of civic improvement. He was among the editors whose services in favor of the gold standard were recognized by a testimonial banquet, given by the business men of Detroit, after the campaign of 1896.

On account of the extreme conservatism of the *Advertiser and Tribune* after the War of Secession, a group of Republicans about the state, afterwards known as Stalwarts, formed a stock company, and on the strength of $100,000 capital, put up a fine building, bought a good plant, hired an expensive staff with Carl Schurz

as editor-in-chief, and started the *Daily Post.* Notwithstanding the brilliant intellect of General Schurz, which afterwards gave him distinction as United States Senator from Missouri and editor of a leading paper in New York City, he did not fit well into the Michigan field. He retired at the end of a year, at which time the company had acquired a mortgage of $40,000 in addition to its capital stock. I chanced to meet General Schurz in Washington ten years later and he asked me what was the value of the $5,000 stock in the *Post* that had been given him in addition to a liberal salary for his one year's service, and when he might expect a dividend upon it. I told him that the stock wasn't worth anything and that instead of a dividend he might expect an assessment to help pay deficiencies in current expenses. He then offered to sell me his stock at a low price. I declined to buy. I had some already and knew what it was worth.

After General Schurz's retirement the staff was re-organized with Col. Frederick G. Morley as general manager and Edward G. Holden and Lewis J. Bates as editorial writers. Mr. Holden was a brilliant and witty writer, with a first-class knowledge of political affairs and with a wide view of public questions not strictly political. Mr. Bates was a many-sided genius, a poet of no mean inspiration, a lover of out-door sports, a man of very wide and often inaccurate knowledge of public affairs, of strong and generally correct convictions, and about the readiest writer that ever put pencil to paper. When he had the subject of an editorial worked out in his mind it was a very short time before it was ready for the type-setter.

Colonel Morley was economical to the verge of parsimony and did not appreciate the opportunities which a modern news field affords. Editorially he wrote very little but he was in touch with the leading Republican politicians of the day and in full accord with the ideas represented by the dominant branch of the party. The combination on the whole was a strong one and the *Post* was a decided power in Michigan politics till its consolidation with the *Advertiser and Tribune* under the name of the *Post and Tribune,* in 1877.

Among other newspaper men who helped in their time to give Michigan journalism a reputation and an influence was T. P. Sheldon, the founder of the *Free Press.* Of the good work that he did in politics and in the printer's art the purveyors of reminiscence say comparatively little, but one incident has been frequently mentioned. He wrote a scathing comment on certain action of the Supreme Court of the Territory, was called up for contempt,

fined $100, and on refusal to pay was remanded in jail. His friends rallied, raised the amount of the fine, and three hundred of them attended a complimentary dinner tendered him at his place of confinement. This incident induced from a Whig contemporary the very natural comment that never before had the Wayne County jail contained three hundred Democrats at one time. For the good of the community the whole bunch should be detained there for ninety days.

Prominent in the newspaper and political activities of the later period was James H. Stone. He first did newspaper work on the Kalamazoo *Telegraph,* was reporter on the Detroit *Advertiser and Tribune,* was the first editor of the Port Huron *Times,* was general manager of the Detroit *Post and Tribune* from 1878 till 1882, was later the manager of the Detroit *Tribune,* was Secretary of the State Senate, was Collector of Internal Revenue for the Detroit district and later Appraisor of the Port; was once a candidate for Congress in the First district; was delegate to two Republican National Conventions and on account of his resonant voice and distinct enunciation was named as one of the reading clerks at two others. He was occasionally a delegate and always an attendant at State Conventions. Few men were better or more favorably known in the Michigan newspaper or political world of the time than "Jim Stone." Mr. Stone originated the movement which for a number of years caused the American flag to be raised every school day over every school building in the city of Detroit. He helped provide the fund which made the purchase of the flags, arranged for the ceremonies, and made a number of the flag raising speeches. The movement was intended as a lesson in patriotism which is deserving of perpetuation.

A very conspicuous figure in the newspaper and political world of Michigan was Thomas Seal Applegate, commonly known as "Tom" Applegate. He was English-born in 1839, came to this country in 1851 and to Adrian in 1863. He acquired an interest in the Adrain *Watchtower.* After a number of changes of name and partnership control it became the Adrian *Times and Expositor* with Mr. Applegate as sole proprietor. He introduced new methods in weekly news gathering, established the first daily in Southeastern Michigan, was a member of the Chicago Press Club and the Inland News Association, and was one of the most conspicuous and most popular members of the State Press Association. He attended every Republican State Convention from 1864 to 1890, was a member of the Republican State Central Committee for eight years, chairman of the Executive Committee for six years,

and chairman of the Second District Congressional Committee. He helped to make United States Senators, Governors and Congressmen, but would never accept a nomination for himself for any political office. I knew of no other editor in Michigan who had official position so easily within his grasp, but who refused to stretch forth his hand and take the blessing.

Among subordinate editors I cannot forbear mentioning the genial, industrious but sometimes caustic Ray Haddock, for a long time commercial editor of the *Advertiser and Tribune* and afterwards of the *Daily Post,* for many years Secretary of the Board of Trade and for one term County Clerk. Ray was indebted to his commercial friends for many bits of valuable information and he liked to reciprocate by occasional paragraphs about their business. But when W. S. George, who was pretty thrifty, got his eye on two of these paragraphs, he made out bills for them as advertising matter, deducted the amount from Haddock's weekly stipend and told him that he could recoup himself by collecting the bills. Haddock told George to go to a place where I trust editors never go, whatever may become of business managers. A couple of days later Haddock handed to the city editor a notice of a church function with the remark: "Don't let George see this or he'll measure it up at ten cents a line and send a bill to God Almighty."

Among the most versatile of these early editors and publishers was Henry Barns. He bought into the Detroit *Free Press* in 1837, the firm being then Bagg, Barns & Co., but sold out in 1838 and soon afterwards started the Niles *Sentinel.* In 1851 he started the Detroit *Tribune* and in 1862 consolidated it with the *Advertiser,* having a controlling interest in the consolidated sheet. Meantime in 1855 he started the Lansing *Republican* but sold out after publishing two numbers. He also had numerous political activities. He was clerk of the Michigan House of Representatives in 1855, was postmaster at Detroit and pension agent for Eastern Michigan. At one time he had a controlling interest in the only telegraph line between Detroit and Chicago. If he had held on to this, wealth and distinction were his. But he let go and died poor in 1871.

A unique character in state journalism was Don C. Henderson, who had his first newspaper experience on the New York *Tribune* under Greeley. He established the Allegan *Journal* in 1856 and was either sole or part proprietor and principal editor of the paper for 30 years. He attended almost every Republican State Convention and almost every session of the Legislature in that period. He was once postmaster to the Legislature, once compiler of the Michi-

gan Manual and a frequent contributor to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, of which he was Vice-President.

A sturdy fighter in the Michigan newspaper and political world through the 70's and 80's was Rice A. Beal of the *Peninsular Courier,* Ann Arbor. In 1880 Mr. Beal was a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor at the famous Jackson convention in which five equally matched candidates tried out their political fortunes. He did not succeed in securing the nomination for himself, nor in controlling the nomination at that time, but in the course of his twenty years of activity he did much toward determining other nominations for Governor, for the Legislature, for Congress and particularly for Regent of the University, in which institution he took especial interest.

Among the men who had small opportunities in Detroit but much larger openings elsewhere was George Dawson. He was here in the Harrison campaign of 1840 as editor and one of the proprietors of the *Tribune.* He left here in 1842 and afterwards attained distinction in New York politics as editor of the Albany *Evening Journal.* Moses H. Ham was brought to Detroit and afterwards taken to Chicago by Wilbur F. Storey. He cut no great figure in either city but became prominent in Iowa politics as editor and proprietor of the Dubuque *Journal.* R. F. Johnstone was brought here at the request of Zach Chandler and two or three others on the recommendation of Thurlow Weed and Hugh Hastings of the New York *Commercial Advertiser,* to run the Detroit *Advertiser.* Chandler and his friends wanted a strong Whig political writer. Johnstone filled the bill fairly well but he subsequently became much better known as editor of the *Michigan Farmer* and a promoter of the agricultural interests of the State.

I might go into some detail in regard to other Michigan newspaper promoters. The list would include: Sheldon McKnight, publisher for a number of years of the Detroit *Free Press;* J. H. Shakespeare, the sturdy old Democrat who kept the Kalamazoo *Gazette* in line in a strong Republican and Abolition county; Willard Stearns, who upheld the Democratic standard, with vigor and obstinacy in the Adrian *Press;* W. T. B. Schermerhorn who did a like service in the Hudson *Gazette* in the same county; Lewis Noyes, publisher in troublous times of the Marshall *Democratic Expounder;* Thos. T. Bates, who succeeded DeWitt C. Leach in the control and editorship of the Grand Traverse *Herald* and who was one of the potent political and industrial forces of that region for many years.

# JAMES M'MILLAN

UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

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By CHARLES MOORE

# JAMES M'MILLAN, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN.

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## I.

THREE lives span the political history of the state of Michigan. As a child of six years, Lewis Cass watched the bonfires lighted by the Nationalists of Exeter to celebrate the adoption by New Hampshire of the Constitution of the United States, thus completing the number of ratifying states required to bring the new nation into existence. In early manhood he commanded the little force on the Canadian banks of the River Detroit that shed the first blood of the War of 1812. As governor of a territory that stretched from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River, he negotiated with the Indian tribes treaties that combine foresight with a high sense of justice. As Secretary of War, minister to France, United States Senator, candidate for President and Secretary of State, his name is associated with the names of Webster and Clay in the endeavor to maintain the Constitution by conciliation and compromise. "I saw the birth of the Constitution,"[1] he said despairingly to Garfield; "and I fear I shall see its death." Happily, however, at the age of eighty-four, he was permitted to depart in peace, his eyes having beheld the glory of a renewed and strengthened Union.

In 1847, a party of armed men from Henry Clay's home in Kentucky appeared in Cass County and attempted to carry off by force some fugitive slaves who had escaped to Michigan by the Underground Railroad. Citizens who prevented the success of the raid were tried in the Federal Courts at Detroit and convicted, as was said, to aid Cass' political fortunes. That decision and fine called from his dry-goods store Zachariah Chandler, like Cass a native of New Hampshire, who became the embodiment of the aggressive spirit of the Republican party, which he helped to found. Succeeding Cass in the Senate, he established his party leadership both in the state and in the nation; and at his death in 1879 he was at the very zenith of his influence and popularity. If Mr. Chandler's

Paper read at the annual meeting in Lansing, June, 1909.

[1] A. C. McLaughlin's "Lewis Cass."

place on the pages of his country's history shall be less conspicuous than that of Cass, this result will be due, among other causes, to the fact that Mr. Chandler was a man of action rather than words; and also to the unaccountable refusal of his family to give to the public those documents and letters which would have established his claim to be ranked among the most steadfast and effective supporters of President Lincoln. It is not without a sense of humiliation and chagrin that those among whom the tradition of Mr. Chandler's work remains find in the most comprehensive history of the Civil War only the mere record of his presence in the Senate.[2]

## II.

On the sudden death of Senator Chandler, in 1879, his place as Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee was filled by the election of James McMillan, then a leading manufacturer of Detroit, who was destined slowly, and with many set-backs, to acquire in fact that party leadership which his chairmanship accorded to him in theory. Henry P. Baldwin succeeded Mr. Chandler in the Senate and in the Committee Chairmanship. Meanwhile Mr. McMillan aspired to be Governor of Michigan; but decided not to press his candidacy in the face of the manifest desire of the Republicans for a farmer Governor. At a low ebb in the party fortunes, in 1886, he was called into service again as chairman of the State Committee. Against the advice of influential Republicans, who refused aid and prophesied shipwreck to his political ambitions, he successfully reorganized a demoralized and discordant party and snatched victory from the very jaws of defeat.[3] Then he confirmed his hold on the confidence of his political associates by withdrawing as a candidate for the Senatorship; and two years later he was rewarded by the unanimous vote of the Republican members of the Legislature. Entering the United States Senate in 1889, he was twice reelected without opposition in the Legislature, in spite of intense hostility on the part of the powers that controlled in state affairs. He had scarcely entered upon his third term when, with every promise of a long continued usefulness, he suddenly died in 1902.

[2]See Post and Tribune Life of Zachariah Chandler, by William Stocking. Rhodes's History of the United States contains only a reference to Chandler.

[3]This was the celebrated campaign when Cyrus G. Luce was elected over George L. Yaple by a majority of 7,432.

JAMES McMILLAN.

From a portrait by Benjamin Constant, in the Senate Chamber in the Capitol.

III.

Whether the Clan MacMillan originated in Argyle, in Braidalbar, or at Lochaber in Inverness; whether they were dependents of the Clan Cameron; whether a MacMillan chieftain acquired Castle Swegan by marriage with an heiress of the MacNeils; or whether their possessions came through the favor of the Lord of the Isles, we leave to those who are versed in the intricate genealogy of Scotland. Be this as it may, recent Scotch histories of the family claim among their illustrious members the late Senator from Michigan. Mr. McMillan himself was little interested in genealogy; but family tradition has it that his grandfather was a sea-captain of a roving and adventurous disposition, who for a time made his home in Russia, and again in Philadelphia. At any rate he was a very old man when he died in Scotland, leaving his two sons, William and James, to be brought up by friends on a farm near Stranraer, at the head of Loch Ryan in the County of Wigtown, which is washed by the North Channel. In 1834, William having recently married Grace MacMeakin, came to America with the intention of settling in Indiana. He paused at Hamilton, Ontario, and there made his home; while his brother James settled at Galt, where he lived and died.

IV.

William McMillan prospered in business. He became connected with the Great Western Railway at the very beginning of that road, and so continued until his death in 1877. He was prominent in civic and church affairs; and the McMillan home, if somewhat stern in discipline, after the fashion of that day, nevertheless was one of comfort, intelligence and piety. James McMillan, the second son in a family of six sons and one daughter, was born on May 12, 1838. At the Hamilton Grammar School, ruled by the locally famous Dr. Tassie, he was well grounded in the fundamentals of an English education. His facility with artithmetic and his memory were remarkable; his handwriting was small and elegant; and his correspondence was clear, forcible and exact. He was a charming letter-writer when on his travels, and his expression of interest or sympathy seemed to flow directly from his heart through his pen.

After four years service in a Hamilton hardware store, he came to Detroit in 1855, to make his fortune. He had letters to several of the leading merchants, among them Hon. Christian H. Buhl, who gave him employment in the wholesale hardware-house of Buhl & Ducharme, where he stayed for two years. Then, through

his father's influence, he was made purchasing agent of the Detroit and Milwaukee Railroad. Those were days of railroad building in Michigan, and when the road was extended to Grand Haven, Mr. McMillan, then less than twenty years of age, was engaged by the contractor to look after his financial affairs, make the purchases, and take charge of the workmen. He declined an offer to go to Spain to build railroads, and returned to his former position as purchasing agent. That he early learned to save money is illustrated by the fact that he was compelled to foreclose a mortgage which represented his first hard-earned one hundred dollars. The sale of the property brought exactly the face of the mortgage, and the lawyer kept half. Another incident illustrates the fact that he early learned how to use the money of others to advantage—one of the secrets of success in these days. Desiring to borrow one thousand dollars, he applied, with a good deal of hesitation, to the late Alexander H. Dey, then a private banker. Mr. Dey looked at him for a moment, and then exclaimed: "Boy, what in thunder do you want to do with that thousand dollars?" As the disappointed applicant turned to leave the office, Mr. Dey called him back to say that he could have the money. In after years, Mr. McMillan borrowed hundreds of thousands of dollars from the gruff but good-hearted and sound-headed banker.

In 1864, Mr. McMillan borrowed of John S. Newberry $5,000, and with Mr. Newberry, E. C. Dean and George Eaton, became a quarter owner of the Michigan Car Company, engaged in the manufacture of freight cars. During the ensuing year he paid the loan with interest. The business prospered steadily, and in time the car works at St. Louis, Missouri, was purchased, and companies were established at Cambridge, Indiana, and London, Ontario. At the head of the St. Louis works he placed his brother, William, who was in the hardware business at Detroit when the purchase was made. Subsequently, William McMillan bought the St. Louis and the Cambridge shops, removing the latter to Kansas City. He became a very wealthy man. During the panic of 1873 the load of all four concerns fell on the shoulders of Mr. McMillan. The Detroit banks had little money, and they were very timid; the monthly pay-rolls of from fifty to seventy thousand dollars had to be met. At this juncture, Mr. McMillan hit upon a novel expedient. His friends, Joseph Price and Mr. Hickson, of the Grand Trunk and the Great Western Railways, were buying cars of the Michigan Car Company, and at Mr. McMillan's earnest solicitation they directed the station agents of their roads to forward direct to the

Car Company, at Detroit, all the American money they received. Canada was fairly scoured to get currency to pay the men.

From the Michigan Car Company sprang the Detroit Car-Wheel Company, the Detroit Iron Furnace, the Baugh Steam Forge Company, the Fulton Iron and Engine Works, the Newberry Furnace Company, and the Detroit Pipe and Foundry Company, of all of which corporations Mr. McMillan became the president. Also, he was the president of the Detroit and Cleveland Steam Navigation Company, the Detroit Transportation Company, the Duluth and Atlantic Transportation Company, and the Michigan Telephone Company; and a director in the Detroit Dry Dock Company, the D. M. Ferry Seed Company, the Detroit City Railway, and the First National and the Detroit Savings banks.

The editor of the Detroit *Evening News* put into a few pithy sentences the place he occupied in the industrial world of Michigan: "Mr. McMillan is worth a million or more. He earned it by hard work and bold and intelligent enterprises, which have not only made him wealthy, but have added tens of millions to the wealth of Detroit, furnished steady and remunerative employment to thousands of his fellow citizens, and supported tens of thousands of families. He has added to the beauty of the city, not only by the construction of factories where labor is employed, but by the construction of many handsome business blocks which are an ornament to Detroit. * * * * In scores of cases that every business man can recall, he has taken broken enterprises which other men's incompetence had ruined, and has built them up into successful concerns, to the profit and enrichment of the whole city."

One of the boldest and most intelligent of the enterprises to which the *News* refers was what is now the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad, by which the once loose ties that connected the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to the Lower, have been transmuted into bonds of steel. The conception of this enterprise was with Mr. McMillan, and he persuaded Francis Palms, George Hendrie and John S. Newberry to join him in taking the enormous risk of developing an unsettled country, where the success of the plan, if it should be successful, must come at a then distant future. One after another of his associates died, leaving on Mr. McMillan's shoulders the whole tremendous operation. There were lines in Mr. McMillan's face, and gray hairs in his head, to record that struggle. Hon. Peter White said of Mr. McMillan's work for this road: "His courage, his pluck, and largely his money, poured forth in unstinted volume, did the business. All honor to James McMillan! He is an

acquisition to the State of Michigan worth having." The road was sold to the Canadian Pacific, the projectors getting out even.

V.

While making money rapidly, he also was liberal in his expenditures. His name headed every subscription paper, and he made a number of permanent investments. The origin of Grace Hospital well illustrates one side of Mr. McMillan's character. Into his office one day came a brakeman of the Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railroad. One of the man's legs had been cut off while he was at work, and he had been ordered to a hospital to complete his recovery. He had a little money, but not enough to pay for treatment at Harper Hospital, and he had come to Mr. McMillan for help. The man said frankly that his own carelessness caused the accident. Mr. McMillan readily gave him the assistance he desired; and some months later, when the man was discharged, he was sent to the Upper Peninsula with an artificial leg, a good outfit of clothing, and an order for steady employment. In the meantime, Mr. McMillan had pondered the fact that in the whole state of Michigan there was no hospital where a person without money could receive treatment. The matter worried him. Finally, he decided that his next gift should be a free hospital. When he mentioned the matter to John S. Newberry, the latter asked to be allowed to join in the undertaking. So the hospital was determined upon, and when Mr. Newberry died, Mrs. Newberry carried out the plans of her husband. The building complete cost $150,000, and then it was endowed with $100,000, an amount which was increased by others.

To Michigan University Mr. McMillan gave one of the finest Shakespeare libraries in the country, which is kept up by gifts from the family and also the building used by the Presbyterian students; to the Agricultural College he gave the Tepper collection of insects; to the Mary Allen Seminary of Texas, a school for the education of colored girls, he gave the $16,000 needed to complete the endowment; and to Albion College a chemical laboratory. These are but examples of a benevolence that was regular and unfailing.

VI.

When Mr. McMillan entered the Senate he was without legislative experience; and therefore it was no hardship to conform to that unwritten law of the body which forbids a new senator to take part in debate. Gradually and by degrees, however, he ac-

quainted himself with the customs and rules, and while on but three occasions he made formal speeches, he acquired an expertness in handling bills which enabled him easily, tactfully and successfully to pilot a measure among the shoals and reefs of legislation, to a secure harbor. On one occasion, when he had half a dozen bills to handle, he was attacked with personal abuse and vituperation by a Populist senator from Nebraska. For half an hour he bore it all without a sign of discomposure. Then leisurely leaving his seat, he sauntered over to the abusive senator and whispered a few words to him while the Senate waited. Then he slowly returned to his place, while his opponent stated that he really had no objection to the pending measure, but was merely speaking to prevent another bill from being brought up. Having received assurance that the objectionable measure would not be pressed, he would withdraw his objection. So saying he turned and left the chamber. Two weeks later the senator from Nebraska allowed the measure to which formerly he was opposed also to pass; and he had had the grace to strike from the record all of his abusive remarks. The result was brought about quite naturally; for while Mr. McMillan was always ready to explain his position to the Senate and to answer questions, it was his custom to argue with senators individually in the coat-rooms or in his committee room, and by personal contact to remove objections, in so far as they could be located. His perfect candor, combined with extensive and accurate knowledge, and a reputation for disinterestedness, enabled him to carry through measures of first importance.

It was these qualities to which he owed his success; for the United States Senate is a comparatively small body in which every member soon finds his level. Insincerity is the one quality which the Senate does not tolerate, no matter what the general reputation or the political success of the individual senator. On the contrary, when a member once gains the confidence of his fellows, he can accomplish much.

The new senator's first concern is to secure the best possible committee assignments. Mr. McMillan was offered a place on the Committee on Commerce, but this he declined because it was coveted by his colleague. He declined also a place on Inter-State Commerce, because he was then the president of a railroad, and he thought that fact might make such an assignment inadvisable, a point of scrupulousness that would seem to some men quixotic. Quite by chance he went on the Committee on the District of Columbia, and thus was drawn into work which proved congenial and beneficial both to his own reputation and to the interests of

the national capitol. In time he became a member of the Committees on Commerce, Naval Affairs, Cuban Relations, and finally Appropriations. For years he struggled against the latter assignment, and was finally placed there quite against his will, although it is the most coveted committee in the Senate. When he was not actually a member of the Steering Committee, he usually met with it; and for the last six years before his death he was a member of the committee to arrange the membership of the Senate Committees. He was also leading member of the committee on patronage. Conscientious in all he undertook, he accumulated labor that would have overwhelmed one less used to turning off work; and even he felt the severe strain.

## VII.

One organization to which he belonged finds no place on public records. It is a well known fact that much of the legislation of Congress is arranged outside of legislative halls; and that the dinner-table and the smoking-room often play a larger part than the official places of assembly. Mr. McMillan's home, which he purchased soon after entering the Senate, was noted for its quiet but elegant hospitality; and it was there that the so-called School of Philosophy held most of its weekly meetings. Among the members were Senators Allison, Aldrich, Spooner, Hale, Wetmore, Manderson, Hanna and Vice-President Hobart, while Speaker Reed and General Slocum were frequent attendants; and it was not an unusual occurrence to find the President of the United States taking part in the discussions. It is quite within bounds to say that no important measure passed the Senate without first having been agreed to in this informal conclave; and many a bill like the Force Bill and the Ship Subsidy Bill, there received its death-blow long before the public learned of its demise. A massive silver loving-cup, now treasured among the McMillan family possessions, is the only tangible evidence of the existence of that institution; for after Senator McMillan's death no further meetings were held.

## VIII.

Two years after Mr. McMillan's election to the Senate, political changes having retired Senators Ingalls, Spooner and Farwell, he became chairman of the Committee on the District of Columbia. His long experience with public service corporations had made him familiar with much of the work which fell to his lot. He would have scouted the idea that he was to be classed as a reformer; but

THE McMILLAN FOUNTAIN.

Erected in McMillan Park, Washington, D. C., by citizens of Michigan. Herbert Adams, sculptor; Charles A. Platt, landscape architect.

as a matter of fact almost every function of the city government was changed for the better during his rule. To abolition of grade crossings on steam railways he gave ten years of unremitting work; the introduction of the underground trolley for electric lines was the result of his investigations at Budapest; the reorganization of the charities was brought about by a joint-committee of Senate and House, of which he was chairman. He secured the adoption of a law to restrict the localities in which liquor might be sold; he secured the establishment of a reform school for girls; he obtained an appropriation for a model building for a business high-school; through him a board of charities was created; and not a little of the present prosperity of Washington is due to the personal-tax law which assesses only tangible personal property. To his determination and persistence is due the great slow-sand filtration plant, which has transformed the Washington water-supply from one of the worst in the country to a supply clear and sanitary. Each of these achievements marks a struggle—often against ignorance or indifference, and sometimes against well-intrenched self-interest.

At the beginning it seemed as if every measure he championed was doomed to defeat; but when a session closed over his defeats, he would placidly remark to the discouraged ones: "Congress meets again on the first Monday of next December; we will try once more." Then, as the years went by, the list of achievements grew apace, offering fresh incentives to well-doing.

One secret of his success is to be found in a habit that he brought from his private business. He always entrusted the details of important projects to experts; and when they had reported he gave to their conclusions all the backing of his power and influence. Thus he came in contact with many of the most highly trained minds in this country; and they, on their part, learned to respect him; for each contributed an essential element to the accomplishment of the work.

Courteous and considerate in his treatment of those who came on business, he resented any malign interference with the proper conduct of District affairs. When one of the most influential political and traction managers in this country came to him with the statement that he had secured the consent of a majority of the members of the District Committee to the introduction of the overhead trolley into the city of Washington, and asked for his support, he replied that he thought he possessed sufficient influence in the Senate to defeat such a scheme, and that he should exert what power he had to that end.[1] The threat was effective, and no further

[1]The man was Peter Dolan of Philadelphia, representing the Weidner-Elkins combination.

move was made. Again, when the representatives of one of the leading railways secured the appointment as District Commissioner of a man known to be friendly to their particular interests, he told them with some heat that they were but misrepresenting their employers; that what a railroad should desire was fair treatment not favor; and that he would see that the nomination was not confirmed. And he carried out his determination.[2]

## IX.

Mr. McMillan knew every street and road in the District of Columbia; and saw the possibility of realizing the dream of Washington and Jefferson, that the capital of the United States should become the most attractive capital city in the world. To this end he devoted thought and effort, first by providing for convenience, good order and sanitation; and then by the preparation of a comprehensive city plan on which to build during the coming century. Thwarted at first by selfish and narrow interests, he finally got command of the situation, and with the Senate supporting him he proceeded to the accomplishment of his purpose. Calling to his aid men who had achieved such distinguished success in creating the architectural and landscape beauty that caused the Chicago World's Fair to surpass all other exhibitions of its kind both before and since 1893, he entrusted to them the work of planning not only a park system for the District, but also for the placing of future public buildings and monuments, so that the capital might grow into beauty as the country increased in wealth and power. It would be impossible to conceive greater harmony of action than existed between the distinguished artists who made up the Senate Park Commission and the man who called them to the task. Daniel H. Burnham, the chairman of the Commission, proposed the removal of the Pennsylvania Railroad from government property where it had been located for thirty years; and Mr. McMillan who had spent his entire legislative life so far in securing legislation for the abolition of grade-crossings, agreed to enter upon a new struggle to accomplish this further progress. Happily he was entirely successful, and the Union Station at Washington is the monumental result. When money was lacking to carry out the adequate preparation and presentation of the plans, he advanced thousands of dollars, saying that he would take his chances on reimbursement.

[2]The appointment was made at the end of the second Cleveland administration; and with the coming of McKinley Mr. McMillan secured the reappointment of Commissioner John W. Ross (Democrat), and his confirmation in spite efforts of the Bryan-Democrats to defeat the nomination.

The report embodying the Commission's plans, which Mr. McMillan presented to the Senate, not only marks an epoch in the history of the national capital, but it is also the beginning of that movement for city-planning which is now spreading throughout this land, and which is destined to give to the American people cities which shall be models of convenience, order and beauty. It would be too much to claim that he started the movement. Sooner or later it was bound to come here as it had already come in Europe; but certainly it was his leadership that first gave expression to city-planning in its very highest form—the planning of a capital city expressive of the power, dignity and grandeur of a great nation.[1]

## X.

We might well rest here; but one further accomplishment claims brief consideration. For years the inadequate conditions prevailing at the White House, which was at once the workshop and the residence of the President, had led to schemes for a new building or for such an enlargement of the historic mansion as would have destroyed a landmark dear to every American. It was at this juncture that Mr. Charles F. McKim, one of the architects on the Park Commission, chanced to say to Senator McMillan that he had just advised Mrs. Roosevelt that no repairs Congress was disposed to provide for would better matters. Thereupon, Mr. McMillan drew from Mr. McKim a rough statement as to the cost of a thorough renovation of the White House and the erection of a separate office building. That same day, he secured in committee the incorporation in a pending appropriation bill of an item covering the changes which have since been made in the White House. The result has been to give to the nation a home worthy of the dignity of its chief executive and an office building which, while not the final form of executive headquarters, still will serve for the convenient dispatch of business until Congress shall determine upon a structure adequate to the diverse needs of the President.

## XI.

Will the plan of Washington be carried out? is a question frequently asked, now that the man who was responsible for it cannot direct its execution, and especially in view of the opposition aroused by the jealousy of certain leading spirits in the House of Repre-

[1]The members of the Commission besides Mr. Burnham were Charles F. McKim, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Frederick Law Olmstead. They restored and amplified the plan of Washington prepared in 1792 by Peter Charles L'Enfant, under the direction of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

sentatives, who resented the leadership of the Senate. The answer might be that so far not less than fifty million dollars has been expended on improvements which have fixed the main outlines of the plan. As for the future, let President Taft make reply in the language he used at a dinner given to him by the citizens of Washington on May 8, 1910:

"I know there has been discussion as to that plan. There has been a feeling that perhaps it was slipped onto us at one time and slipped in at another; but we all know, even my dear friend, good, old Uncle Joe, knows, that we are going to build up to that plan some day.[2] (Laughter and applause.)

"It is not coming at once, but we ought to thank God that we have got a plan like that to build to (applause), so that when we go on with the improvement every dollar that we put in goes to make Washington beautiful a hundred years hence."

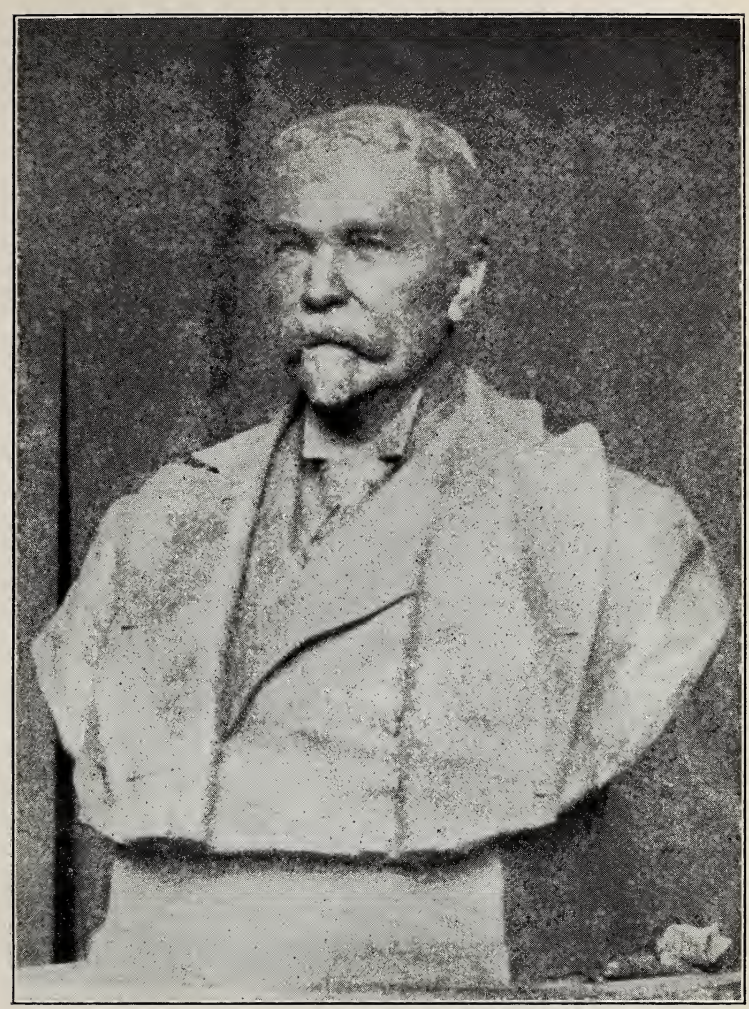
## X.

Such in brief were some of the achievements which mark the public career of James McMillan.

But what of his personality? From the galleries of the senate he must often have appeared but an indifferent spectator at the legislative business which was moving on its perfunctory course. His chair pushed back from his scarcely used desk, he would sit twirling between thumb and finger his eye-glasses that dangled from their black cord. Then, apparently tired of the monotonous debate, he would stroll over to join a fellow senator in conversation. As he crossed the chamber, one could not fail to observe that he was a handsome man; and that his dress was inconspicuously elegant, as indeed was his every personal belonging.

When a legislative pause came, he was on his feet courteously asking unanimous consent for the passage of some bill. This chance he had been awaiting as patiently as a fisherman awaits the pull at his line. It was this vigilance that secured the passage of so large a share of the legislation he undertook. It was his custom to spend an hour at his home each morning on his private business, or with the callers seeking advice or aid; then to drive to the Departments and thence to the Capitol for a committee-meeting. Noon found him in the senate with a bundle of petitions, reports and motions to be disposed of during the morning hour. He lunched with his secretary in the committee-room, and the afternoon was spent in the senate or in committee work. If the day

[2]Mr. Cannon was a theoretical opponent of the plan after Mr. McMillan's death: but after two or three battles royal Mr. Cannon was found quietly supporting the plan. Up to 1914 over $100,000,000 has been spent on buildings and grounds planned in accordance with the general scheme.



BUST OF JAMES McMILLAN.

Executed in marble by Augustus Saint-Gaudens in 1903; in possession of Mrs. James McMillan, at Washington, D. C.

was fine and business was not pressing there would be a drive out in the parks. Then a short rest before the eight o'clock dinner, which during the social season was rarely at home except when he acted as host. He enjoyed the theater, but often a reception occupied the hours from ten to twelve.

Such was the senatorial day. Is it any wonder that when summer came, Mr. McMillan longed for the bracing air of Cape Ann, and for the sound of the waves as they broke upon his cliffs of Eagle Head? There on an estate of nearly a hundred acres, he rested with his wife and his children and grandchildren. Even in his busy Washington days he was essentially a domestic man, for excepting while actually at his work, some members of his family was usually with him; but at Eagle Head he walked through the woods, or played golf at the Country Club, or drove through the Essex Woods, apparently without a care in the world, for money and money-getting had long since ceased to interest him. The evenings were usually spent at a family game of bridge, or cribbage, for he was an excellent card-player, and he usually came off victor. He dearly loved both to hear and to tell a good story; and for those whom he knew well there was a smile in every word he said. Mr. McMillan read books to the limit that his eyes would permit, and he enjoyed being read to by his family. He bought the pictures he liked, and his taste constantly improved.

In personal matters he was reticent. Brought up a Presbyterian, he ever maintained his membership in that church; but he was not given to discussing doctrines, or to questioning the faith of others. In so far as he thought upon such matters he was probably extremely orthodox in his own beliefs, as he had been brought up to be. He never seemed to consider it a merit to be kind and generous and warm-hearted; to speak a cheering word, or to give time and thought and money to help any one who was trying to help himself. Sometimes he spoke of generosity as a duty; and to one who remonstrated with him for undue lenience he said it was his greatest satisfaction to know that many a young man, who had begun to go wrong, had been brought back to paths of honor and usefulness by his help. He was very human; and yet the fittest words to describe him are to say that he was pure in heart.

Looking back over the last year of his life, it is easy now to see that he was over-worked; that even his abstemious life and the efforts he made to reduce the number of his social engagements were not able to counteract the long hours spent in ill-ventilated rooms over the work of the senate. It may well be believed, how-

ever, that the loss of a brother who had been a lifelong companion, of a grandson to whom he was devotedly attached, and of a son, who never recovered from the effects of army service in Cuba, all coming in rapid succession, were blows that weakened the powers of resistance, and put an undue physical strain on his heart, an organ which, in spite of the reassurance of the doctors, he mistrusted. He had very much to live for; few men have so much. At the very time when his work seemed opening out into new and higher fields of usefulness, he was taken without a word of warning.

## XI.

When one looks upon the marble in which the greatest of American sculptors, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, has chiseled the expressive features of the man who called him to serve with fellow artists in achieving one of the greatest victories of peace, one realizes that here indeed was a man who embodied all the qualities that go to make up a senator of the United States—experience, intelligence, force, gentleness, high-mindedness and a love of the highest things of life. Proverbially republics are ungrateful; but in the fair city of Washington, in a park named in his honor, the people whom he so faithfully served and who loyally returned him to the Senate, are erecting no statue of bronze or of marble to pass with the fashion of the day, but a fountain of living water, the one kind of monument which through the ages has proved an imperishable memorial.

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# WILL CARLETON: MICHIGAN'S POET.

By BYRON A. FINNEY

# WILL CARLETON, MICHIGAN'S POET.

BY BYRON A. FINNEY[1]

WILL CARLETON, whose writings have for many years endeared him to the people of this State as Michigan's representative poet, died at his home in Brooklyn, N. Y., after a few days' illness of pneumonia, December 18, 1912, at the age of 67 years.

He had lived away from Michigan for the latter half of his life, but if he had not left his whole heart in Michigan, he had always carried Michigan in his heart, and it is fitting that some recognition of his life and work should appear in the proceedings of this society.

Will (christened William McKendree) Carleton was born, October 21, 1845, on the sixty acre farm where the old homestead still stands, two miles east of the village of Hudson, Lenawee County, near the southern boundary of the state, on the line of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad.

Mr. Carleton's parents, John Hancock and Celestia E. Smith Carleton, were pioneer settlers in Hudson township. His ancestry was English, through New Hampshire. In their religious opinions both Mr. and Mrs. Carleton were ardent Methodists, and Mr. Carleton was class-leader in the village Methodist Episcopal church for many years, until his death in 1872 at the age of seventy. He was a man of sterling probity, somewhat austere in manner, much liked and respected in the community.

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A paper read at the midwinter meeting of the Michigan State Pioneer and Historical Society, at Port Huron, February 6, 1914.

[1]Byron Alfred Finney, son of Alfred A. and Harriet C. (Kidder) Finney, was born near Hudson, Lenawee county, Michigan, January 26, 1849. He comes from sturdy pioneer farmer stock, his grandparents having come from Vermont and Western New York among the earliest settlers of the Bean Creek Valley.

He was educated in the Hudson schools, Hillsdale College, 1865-8, and the University of Michigan, 1868-71, receiving the degree of A. B. He is secretary of the class of '71.

After several years of mercantile life in Hudson he was married, Aug. 28, 1881, to Ida L. Carrel, of Butler, Ind., and the next two years were passed in travel and study in Europe. From 1883 to 1891 he was connected with the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway in the office of the superintendent of the Michigan Division at Toledo, O., and since 1891 has held the position of Reference Librarian in the library of the University of Michigan.

He attended the Summer Library School at Amherst College in 1894, has helped to organize libraries, and has contributed articles to library and bibliographical periodicals.

He has been secretary of the Ann Arbor Humane Society since its organization in 1894, and has served on the board of the State Humane Association. For many years he has taken an active interest in The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. Among other societies of which he is a member are: American Library Association, Michigan Library Association, Bibliographical Society of America, American Historical Association, National Geographic Society.

Address: Ann Arbor, Mich.

Young Will grew up in the strictness of the faith, but became quite liberal in after years. From the time of his marriage in 1882 he was more associated with the Free Will Baptist denomination, in the missionary work of which Mrs. Carleton was quite active. He was one of the Trustees of the college of that denomination at Hillsdale from 1887 until his death.

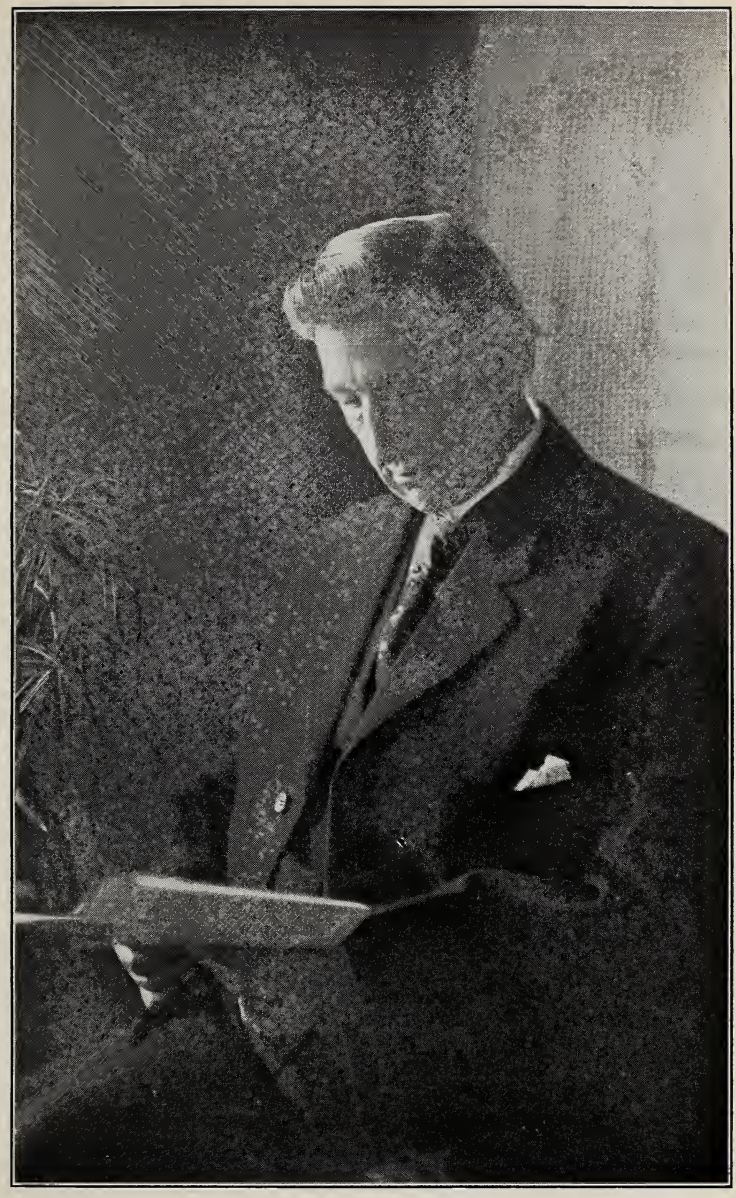
The writer of the present paper has had some special opportunity for this task—though for him it is not a task—for he grew up with Carleton as a boyhood and school companion, and the intimacy of friendship was only interrupted through his whole lifetime by the varying circumstances of separated occupations and residence.

By the marriage of Will's elder sister, Mary Ann, to my uncle, Addison N. Kidder, of Hudson, we boys were thrown into close relationship from the time when he was thirteen years of age and I was ten.

My home was in the village and his was the old homestead, two miles directly east of Hudson, and in the interchange of our boyish visits I slept many a night with him in the old house out of which "Nancy" moved "into the new." The "old" was a log house, which became a wing when the frame upright was built. The log wing was afterward replaced by a frame one, as it stands today.

This comradeship was kept up during our school life in the village of Hudson to which he was in the habit of walking daily to school in good weather, the round trip from the school house making about five miles a day. Until he passed the grade of instruction which it gave he went to the school on the east side of the village, which was nearer his home. During the winter of 1862-3 he roomed during the school days of the week at the home of an elder sister, Almira (Mrs. Heman Goodrich), near the Union school on the west side. There many an evening did I study with him and help him in his Latin which I had begun before him. Another schoolmate, Alonzo B. Bragdon, who has been a practicing attorney in Monroe for many years and is now city attorney under the new commission, took turns with me, in this same pleasure.

Carleton went to Hillsdale, in 1862; then went out to teach, returning to college in 1865. I followed, entering there in the fall of the same year. We were always chums and during the second year roomed together in the west wing of the College building, which, above the first floor, was a dormitory for men students. During this period, when he was not studying, writing, or blowing a horn (he organized and led the college band, and played the E-b cornet, and played it strong, too), he was practicing his poetry on me. I didn't hesitate to criticize it



WILL CARLETON.

Taken in his old home near Hudson, Michigan, on his birthday, Oct. 26, 1902, during the Carleton Home-coming.

either, but found out afterwards that he was working me for that frank criticism.

As there has been some question as to the date when Carleton first went to Hillsdale College, I will quote from a letter of his to Mr. Bragdon, under date of August 18, 1910:

"Yes, I entered Hillsdale in '65, and graduated in '69. My 'preparation' was a fragmentary and tempestuous one—full of fights, follies, frolics and phantasies—but with a steady determination under them all, to 'get there.' I read every book I could buy or borrow, believed what I wanted of them, laughed at the rest, and went on 'swimming through the dewdrops.' I saw a good deal of Finney, and was diverted from solider pursuits by his confounded dramatic hunches, which, however, did me a lot of good afterward. I fell in and associated with you—which was an education in itself..."

The poems which Carleton had written during his college course and shortly after were gathered into a small volume and published by the Lakeside Publishing Company, Chicago, in 1871. They attracted little attention; not so much, perhaps, as one which had not been included in the volume. This was a political, satirical poem, which was delivered by its author at Republican mass-meetings during the Presidential campaign of 1868. It was quite popular, and was published in pamphlet form under the title, "Fax."

While in school Carleton had been contributing items and "write-up" notices to the newspapers, with the fixed idea of taking up journalism for a life work, and during the first three years after graduation he was connected with the *Western Rural,* Chicago, the Hillsdale *Standard,* and the Detroit *Weekly Tribune.* It was during this time, early in 1871, that his poem "Betsey and I are out" appeared in the Toledo *Blade.* It was copied all over the country and attracted the notice of the New York publishers, Harper & Brothers, who gave it a prominent page, with illustration, in *Harper's Weekly.* They followed this with several other of his poems, taken from the Detroit *Tribune,* or written for *Harper's Weekly,* under the series title of "Farm Ballads." This was the beginning of their popular volumes of his "Ballads," "Legends," and "Festivals."

From this period Carleton devoted himself to authorship and the lecture platform, and became known to the country at large, as well as to Michigan, as the poet-spokesman of the farmer and the everyday citizen. He could not resist entirely the journalistic call, and in 1894 established a family magazine, *Every Where,* published monthly in Brooklyn, N. Y., and which he conducted for nearly twenty years, until his death. To this magazine he con-

tributed many prose articles, and a poem regularly to each issue. A list of his published works is appended to this paper.

Of his early period of aspiration Mr. Carleton gives some interesting reminiscences, in an article which he contributed to Lippincott's Magazine for April 1887 (39:670-6), entitled "Experiences of a public lecturer," from which I quote:

"My lecturing efforts began at home, upon my father's farm. Having succeeded in hearing two or three good speakers who had visited our little neighboring village, I decided straightway that forensic effort was to be part of my life-business. So the sheep and cattle were obliged to hear various emotional opinions on subjects of more or less importance, and our steeds of the plough enjoyed a great many comfortable rests between furrows in order to 'assist' at my oratorical displays. One of them persisted in always going to sleep before the discourse was finished—a custom that is not obsolete even among his human superiors.

The first lecture-course of this series came to an end quite suddenly; for my shrewd, hard-headed New-England father began to suspect that agriculture was being sacrificed to eloquence. So he appeared unexpectedly in the audience during a *matinee,* and told me he had heard most of the harangue, and that he feared I was spoiling a tolerably good farmer to become an intolerably bad orator. Though of a kindly, generous disposition, he could throw into his less gracious words a great deal of sarcasm to the square inch, and the lecturer of the afternoon, crushed but not convinced, wakened the off-horse and thoughtfully drove his plough towards the blue woods at the other end of the furrow.

It is a pleasant memory that my father lived to see me earning a hundred dollars a night and admitted, with a grave twinkle in his eye, that, having looked the matter over from a non-agricultural stand-point, he had concluded there was more in me than he had supposed.

But in those boy-days both lecturing and literature developed very slowly. How was I to get audiences, either for pen or voice?... There seemed little hope for a beginner.

But the great secret of commencing is *to commence where one can.* During my course in college it appeared that several small towns in the country which could not afford expensive lectures wanted and would pay for something to amuse them for an evening; that there existed among these people a class who were tired of burnt-cork and sleight-of-hand shows, and wanted something which professed to be intellectual; and so I 'did' all the neighboring hamlets that I could induce to hear me. The financial advantage was not bewildering, and generally consisted of half the net proceeds. After the door-keeper had his percentage, and the sexton his guerdon, and the printer his dues, and the bill-poster his back-pay, the half of what was left was almost as much as the whole of it (although even then perhaps worth as much as the entertainment).

But the practice of meeting audiences of all descriptions has

proved invaluable ever since. Declaiming upon the sea-shore would have been a tender, mild sort of discipline compared to it. Mothers brought their babies, and they competed with me for a hearing; coughs and sneezes and clearings of husky throats were seldom suppressed; and most of the cheering, if done at all, came from the leathern-clad palm of the foot, rather than from the softly sonorous surface of the hand. But these country-people had as good hearts and as healthy brains as can be found in city or university, and I always went away in love with my audience. 'You have let considerable light into this district,' said one bright-eyed farmer boy; 'and you've started me on the up-track.' My payment for that evening's work was five dollars and a half in money, and a compliment estimated at, at least, a million dollars. The rough, home-spun fellow who gave it may not read this, for he has gone on into the Great Unknown; but he holds an earthly residence in at least one heart.

My resources from the platform slowly increased, and finally resulted in enough to pay a fair portion of the expenses of a college course. Soon after graduation, I began to receive calls from various towns in the State, which were becoming acquainted with me through my literary work. This soon extended to adjoining states, and so all over this country and England, and gave me some very interesting experiences, and many first-class exhibits of human nature."

President J. W. Mauck, of Hillsdale College, who knew Carleton well for so many years, expressed the following appreciation of him in the "Collegian," the Hillsdale College semi-monthly magazine, for January 9, 1913:

"We best knew him as Will Carleton. Few ever heard his second name, McKendree—from the bishop of the Methodist church, given to him by the parents of whose genuine faith and life he has spoken in tender filial terms in the writer's presence. His graduating part in June, 1869, was a poem (Rifts in the cloud), whose merit President Fairfield attested by seizing a bouquet from the platform and throwing it to the young poet after he had taken his place with his class.... He was long a trustee of the college, a member of the board when he died, and although he could not regularly attend its meetings, he took a lively interest in its proceedings and in all things that concerned the institution. He was wont to express his gratitude to the college which, he said, had befriended him at a time when he could not have gone far from home, and made possible for him a better and more fruitful career.

He was married March 2, 1882, to Adora Niles Goodell, a charming woman who had served with the highest efficiency as a Christian missionary in Burmah and was compelled by impaired health to return home. During her several visits to the college she won the hearty esteem of all who met her. They lived most happily until separated by death in a peculiarly sad and sudden way. He had returned from a lecture tour and they were unusually buoyant at dinner. She went to her room to prepare to go with him to a lec-

ture when attracted by a fall, he hurried to her just as she expired from apoplexy. Mrs. Carleton was the founder of one of the well known missionary bands of young women, and Mr. Carleton liberally supported it both before and after her death. In a measure known to few, hospitals, homes for the needy and unfortunate individuals found in him a generous benefactor in material aid, bestowed in a simple way, and enriched by an almost prodigal use of his time in personal calls and entertainments. In such service he contributed as much in the current flow of life as others who have become more widely known by one or a few of the more conspicuous gifts. A larger part of his somewhat liberal income went into such channels than the public knew.... Mr. Carleton did in effect 'dip his pen in his own heart and wrote of the hopes and the loves and the tears' of humanity. He voiced with fidelity the homely sentiments which are common to all, but which few can express, and he ennobled those emotions which are more vital than the most finished literary forms or highest intellectual reaches. He stirred the springs of the saner emotions, inspired men to better resolves and shamed them for their foibles and pretences."

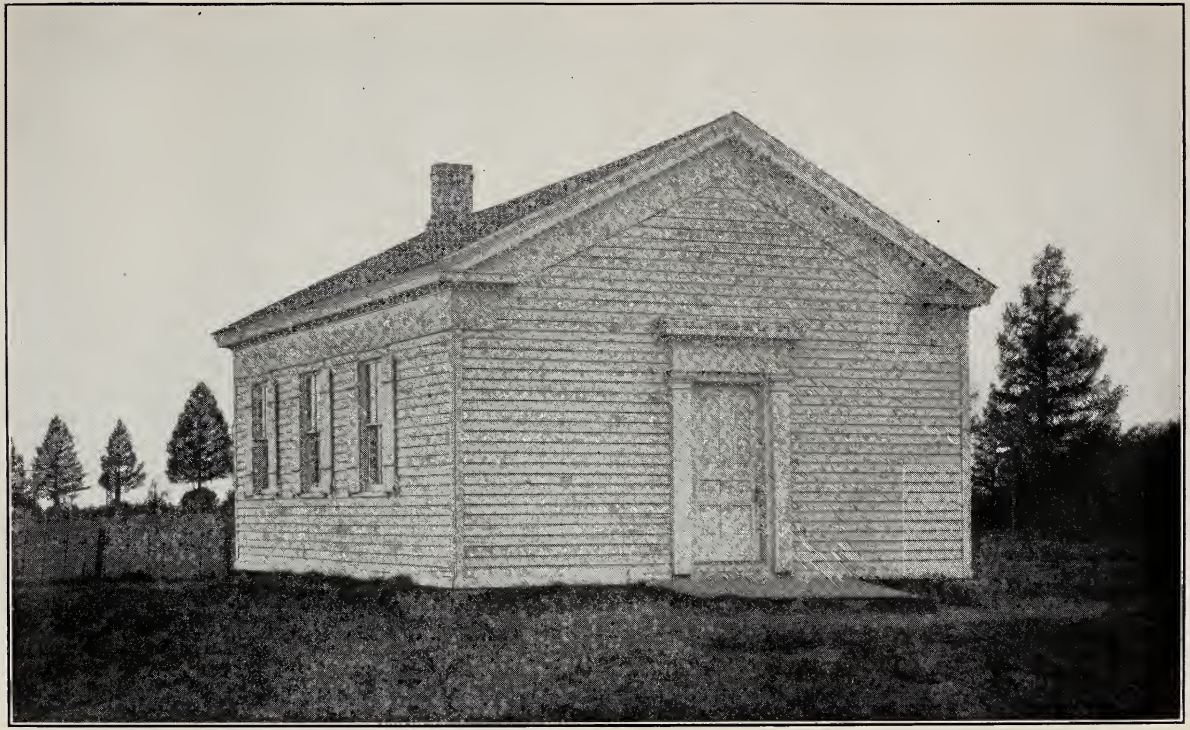
Carrying out the idea of President Mauck, of Hillsdale College, it was arranged that Mr. Carleton should be present at his old home and birth place, east of Hudson, for a "home-coming" on Saturday, October 26, 1907, as near as possible to the poet's birthday.

A special train from Hillsdale brought faculty and students, and citizens from all along the line. The following towns were represented: Coldwater, Quincy, Hillsdale, Osseo, Pittsford, Clayton, Blissfield, North Adams, Reading, Jonesville, Hudson, Adrian.

Mayors and representative citizens brought resolutions of honor and appreciation. Farmers located away from the railroad drove in from many miles, and trains made stops at the farm house during the day.

The following description of the occasion is from the pen of James O'Donnell Bennett as reported in the Chicago Record-Herald of Monday, October 28, 1907:

It is a striking thing that a farming region for a radius of fifty miles should pour out its plowmen and parsons, school children and its shopkeepers to honor the man who had taught them that there was poetry in every aspect of their practical lives and the sedate landscape. Half a mile down the highway from the Carleton farm stands the stocky, box-like little white schoolhouse where the poet learned his three "R's." They call it now the "Carleton School," and a portrait of him hangs on the walls along with one of the president. A flag fluttered in the doorway. Great sprays of asparagus and red berries were the interior decorations. To this one-story, one-room structure, which stands in a lonely place at the intersection of the roads, the pilgrims repaired at 9 o'clock. In accordance with ancient district school tradition the room was



WILL CARLETON'S SCHOOL HOUSE NEAR HUDSON.

insufferably hot, a sheet iron stove working overtime in the centre aisle. On the blackboard in the round, correct hand of the teacher were chalked these words:

> Boys flying kites haul in their white-winged birds;
> You can't do that way when you're flying words.
> Thoughts unexpressed may sometimes fall back dead,
> But God Himself can't kill them when they're said.

The lines were signed "Carleton."

There was much speechifying at the schoolhouse, which was packed with old friends, who were called upon by President Mauck as if they still were school children. Mr. Williams, now the dignified Chicago publisher in the Fine Arts Building, was introduced as "Little Jimmy Williams who will now speak his peace."

"Bless me, bless me," he responded as he clambered on a chair. "Nobody has called me that since I was a boy out here," and he recalled how, when he and Rose Hartwick Thorpe, author of "Curfew Shall Not Ring To-night," were teaching school together in 1869, he had arranged the first programme of public readings Will Carleton had ever presented. It was for the benefit of a fund to buy an organ for the school. Mr. Carleton, when he mounted the chair, addressed the assemblage as follows:

"Fellow Pupils, and Schoolmaster and Boys and Girls—I look around this room and I pick out the places where I used to sit; sometimes it was over by that window, sometimes there, sometimes, I grieve to say, on the floor when I had been bad and was caught at it. In a general way I may say that I sought the best place and then held it down as long as I could. I have been trying to do that in life ever since."

He told how he had been larruped by the schoolmaster when he was detected writing a combination of epigram and epitaph that should embalm the failings of that long-gone pedagogue and he insisted that he never would have been caught if the rhyme for the last line had not stumped him and caused a fatal delay. A baby began to cry lustily while he was speaking and there were ominous whispers from some of the committeemen. "That kid was named after me. Don't put him out. I can talk louder than he can. It's all right."

Then he spoke of the old days and he thought they were good days, "but these are better," he said, "we must not fondle the past too much. We want to go forward. Look ahead. You'll be happier for it. Keep on the pilot of the engine if you can."

Then he recited that rich, racy old poem of his, "The Schoolmaster's Guests," and after that the Pilgrims trooped down the highway to the homestead, where there were more speeches.

This house is the original of the one Mr. Carleton describes in one of the most affecting of his poems, "Out of the Old House, Nancy; Moved Up Into the New." He incorporated it into the speech he made from the porch. The structure has been enlarged and is now a trim, white two-story dwelling with one ell. The old part is the ell and it bears its more than seventy years nobly. There you can see the rooms which once were one, for the poem says, "Kitchen, bedrooms, parlor, we had 'em—all in one." Now there is a telephone in the doorway old chief Bawbeese blessed, an iron windmill clacked sarcastically in the yard while the poet of the plain people was speaking. The turf around the house is green and firm where once stood a virgin forest. Barns and outhouses rise in the rear of the house and to-day farm wagons from all over the neighborhood were bivouacked there. Mr. and Mrs. J. Emmett Kies now farm this place for Mr. Carleton.

As he surveyed the throng around him he said:

"If I were in the habit of letting my feelings overcome me I would be crying now. If anybody else here wants to cry, however, I shall be glad to see them at it. Dear neighbors, I don't know why you should honor me today as you do by your presence here. In regard to this locality and my relations with it I don't want to be egotistical, but I know that is what you want me to talk about. I had a father—a mighty good one, too—and if it were he whom you met to honor you would understand it. Maybe he's here to-day. I hope he is.

My sweet mother, I used to think, lived in two worlds at one time, here and in heaven. But her religion was cheery and helpful. Night after night she was with the sick—not as a trained nurse, except as love and duty and devotion trained her—not as a paid nurse except as God was her paymaster.

Three years ago my wife, who I pray could have lived to see this day, went away to a better land, and on her tomb in Greenwood we carved the words, 'She made home her palace.' So I stand here the last of my race.

Friends, this spot is very dear, very sacred to me. From where I stand the throne of grace had been invoked not 1,000 times, not 5,000 nor 10,000, but as I compute it 30,000. And so I say to you that great influences are hovering here, teaching us still that unless our hands take hold on the world above, our feet can find no firm foundation in this world we inhabit here."

He closed by reciting "Out of the Old House, Nancy," for them and then there was great handshaking and album signing and good old-fashioned visits and the singing of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

Thus was the poet of the farm crowned by the people of Michigan with the maple leaves of gold and scarlet that he loves. They did it because he has added something to the body of poetry that all the world knows and has committed to the heart of memory.

WILL CARLETON'S HOME NEAR HUDSON.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society has had opportunity to express personal appreciation of the poet of the pioneers. In response to a request from the society, Mr. Carleton gave an address at its annual meeting in Lansing, on the evening of June 8, 1910, which was thus reported in the "State Republican" the following day:

"Will Carleton is what some people would call a natural poet, in that his poetry has nothing to do with what he would call the 'high falutin' aspects of life. This is the idea one gets from his poetry and that is the idea that he gives when seen in person. His talk before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical society Wednesday evening brought this year's session to a pleasing and fitting close. He talked of Michigan folks and ways and recited several of his Michigan poems in so entertaining a manner that an uncomfortably large audience sat, stood and perched around the senate chamber for two hours in order to catch every word he said.

'I am glad of the opportunity to talk before the Michigan Pioneer and Historical society and am well fitted to speak about the early days," said Mr. Carleton. 'I know all about the pioneer days, I know all about the hardships of those times and I know all about the wilderness and its dangers. My father told me.'

Mr. Carleton went on to tell about his early experiences as a pupil and a teacher in a district school and in the course of his talk recited such favorite selections from his own works as 'Elder Lamb's Donation Party,' 'The District School,' 'The Old Log House,' and 'Over the Hill to the Poor House,' to the great delight of his audience. Besides these he took occasion to introduce some small exposition of his philosophy of life."

That Carleton had a message for his readers, and that he wrote for their sympathy and friendship, is clearly seen in his preface to the "City Legends" (1889), as follows:

"It will be noticed that, these Legends are divided into seven different Chains. Whether the links of dialogue and interlude with which they are connected be gold, silver, or base metal, the author will not say—he really does not pretend to know. Whether the pendants of poems that hang from them be diamonds, pearls, rubies, or worthless paste, how can he guarantee? Literary jewelry (if poetry may be so called) depends largely for its value upon the eyes that gaze upon it and the hearts that wear it.

The real preface to this book is formed by those which have preceded it from the same author; a like purpose actuates them all. But he takes another opportunity to thank his large family of readers for their continued faithfulness and loyalty, and to assure them that he is still laboring to deserve their respect and affection."

CARLETON DEDICATIONS.

Some idea of the spirit in which he wrote may be gained from the dedications of his volumes.

Poems. "This little volume is reverently and affectionately dedicated to my father and mother."

Farm Ballads 1873. "To my mother." This was after his father's death in 1872.

Farm Legends 1875. "To the memory of a nobleman, my farmer father."

Farm Festivals 1881. "To sisters and brother, all gone on through sad, mysterious mists into the great brightness."

City Ballads 1885 "To Adora, friend, comrade, lover, wife." After their marriage, 1882.

City Festivals 1892. "To God, the great father, to earth, the great mother and to the suffering, sorrowing, rejoicing, conquering, human race, all sisters and brothers."

Harper's Weekly, in which the earlier "Farm Ballads" appeared in 1871, and to which Carleton occasionally contributed poems and articles in prose throughout his life, has this to say of him in its number for December 28, 1912, the next issue after his death:

"With the passing of Will Carleton, America loses the most popular of her poets and the one whose writings have been more widely read and appreciated than those of any poet since the days of Whittier and Longfellow. There is hardly an English-speaking home in America—it might almost be said in the English-speaking world—where 'Over the Hill to the Poorhouse' and 'Betsey and I Are Out' are unknown. Will Carleton's works still command heavy sales, and selections from his poems have long ago been incorporated into popular anthologies. As a lecturer Carleton was well known throughout this country, and if he occupied a comparatively small space in the columns of the periodical press it was because he had been known so long that he had been accepted as an institution. He was little discussed because he had passed into history.....

Will Carleton had a happy knack of attracting the reader by the simplicity of his themes and their pathetic or humorous appeal. His poem, 'The Sandalmaker of Babylon,' which appeared in Harper's Weekly as long ago as 1889, was reprinted in this publication, by request, in the issue of October 28, 1911."

To settle any question as to lack of cordiality in the relations between Messrs. Harper and Bros. and Mr. Carleton during late years on account of his publications being issued by the Every-

where Publishing Co., let me quote the following letter just received from Harper and Bros. under the date of February 2, 1914:

"Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 31st ultimo is at hand.

In reply, we hasten to assure you that, as we wrote you, our relations with Mr. Will Carleton were uninterrupted until his death. There was nothing but cordial feeling on both sides. He was frank and straightforward in his dealings, honorable in his business transactions and highly appreciative of similar treatment on the part of others. He had, we thought, a high sense of business honor. We hold him in respect, and we believe that he entertained the same feeling toward us.

Very truly yours,
HARPER & BROTHERS,

B. A. Finney, Esq.,
University of Michigan,
Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Like all great master spirits who have risen above their surroundings to stand as types of their people and to voice their moods and feelings, their actuals and their ideals, Carleton was not alone the embodiment of his own genius, but the product of his age and environment. The farmer-pioneers needed a voice to sing the exaltation of their homely life—and he responded. From their own body came the singer with their heart-throbs bursting into song.

Michigan should not, and shall not, forget her poet. In Monroe county we have named a village after him, and there are "Carleton" reading clubs. Though the farmer pioneers shall pass away, their children and their children's children shall cherish the memory of him who sang their struggles and their aspirations. It will be the good fortune of the school children of Michigan, of whom Carleton was one, to hold dear the memory, and to honor the example, of the poet who proved the value of an education and devoted it to the service of his fellow people.

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# THOMAS WITHERELL PALMER

BY M. AGNES BURTON

# THOMAS WITHERELL PALMER[1]

BY M. AGNES BURTON

THOMAS WITHERELL PALMER, only son of Thomas Palmer and Mary A. Witherell, was born in Detroit, Michigan, January 25, 1830, in a brick building on the southeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street. His ancestors, both paternal and maternal, were among the first New Englanders to seek a home in the west.

Thomas Palmer, the father of Thomas W. Palmer, was born at Ashford, Conn., February 4, 1789. When eighteen years of age, in company with an older brother, Friend, he became an itinerant merchant, a common vocation in New England at that time. They set out with a stock of general merchandise and a span of horses, traveling through Western Canada until they reached Malden. Here they established themselves and carried on a successful business until the War of 1812, when they were made prisoners. After being held five weeks and being unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to Great Britain, they were transported over the river to Monguagon. They proceeded to Detroit and were very soon again made prisoners. This time they were released on parole and returned to Connecticut. Again they set out with merchandise and making their headquarters at Canandaigua, New York, Thomas departed for Canada and Detroit, arriving at the latter place on June 16, 1815.

From this date Thomas Palmer made Detroit his permanent residence and became the western representative of the firm F. and T. Palmer. In 1820 he built the brick building on the southeast corner of Jefferson avenue and Griswold street, with a store on the first floor and his home above. The firm flourished until 1824 when the partnership was dissolved and from that time on Thomas was interested in various projects of importance.

In 1823 he contracted in conjunction with David C. McKinstry and DeGarmo Jones to build the court house for the city of Detroit. This building was to be completed December 1, 1824 and in payment for the work the contractors received lands in the Ten Thousand Acre Tract and one hundred forty-four city lots. The larger share of this property subsequently came into the possession

[1]Read by Mr. C. M. Burton at the Midwinter Meeting, Port Huron, February 5, 1914.

of the Palmer family through purchase. He had a share in one of the wharfs on the river; took contracts for grading and hauling; owned valuable lands in St. Clair county, where he laid out the village of Palmer (later called St. Clair) and operated a saw mill thereon; had a lumber yard at the foot of Bates street, Detroit; owned interests in several of the steamboats on the river at various times, and in 1845 speculated in Lake Superior mining lands. He was intimately connected with the building of the First Baptist Church, contributing money and lumber for its construction and was a stockholder in the Association for Promoting Female Education in Detroit. In 1819 he was one of the trustees of the town and he served as alderman at large several times. He was a jolly, kind-hearted man, weighing about 250 pounds and was the butt of many a good-natured joke. In later years he was in partnership with his son, Thomas W. Palmer. He died August 3, 1868 after several years of painful illness.

Mary Amy Witherell, the mother of Thomas W. Palmer, was the third daughter of Judge James Witherell and Amy Hawkins, and was born in Fair Haven, Vermont, October 4, 1795. Her father had, in 1809, been appointed one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Michigan. Mrs. Witherell and her children joined him in 1810, but the hostilities of the savages and lack of comforts induced her to take her children and return to Vermont for a visit in 1811.

At Hull's surrender, Judge Witherell, his eldest son, James C. C., and a son-in-law, Joseph Watson, were taken prisoners and sent to Kingston, Canada. They were soon paroled and joined their families in Vermont. After the war Judge Witherell returned to Detroit where he continued in office for twenty years, when he became Secretary of the Territory. He died January 9, 1838.

Judge Witherell's daughter, Mary Amy, married Thomas Palmer August 20, 1821. They traveled east on their wedding trip and returning on the Walk-in-the-Water were wrecked near Buffalo, November 6, 1821.

Thomas James Palmer, who in 1850 changed his name to Thomas Witherell Palmer, was the third of the four children of Thomas Palmer and Mary Amy Witherell Palmer, who grew to maturity. His oldest sister, Mary Amy, named from her mother, was born in Detroit, in 1826 and died November 29, 1854. On June 22, 1848, she married Henry M. Roby, of the firm of Hunt and Roby, who was a loved and life long friend of Thomas W.'s and whose daughter Mary Roby Hamilton was to have been heiress to the Palmer wealth and estates, had not death cut short her career in April 1890.

THOMAS W. PALMER.

From a portrait bv Percy Ives; in the Senate Chamber at the Capitol.

His second sister Julia, married on November 2, 1853, Henry W. Hubbard, who died in New York, April 28, 1871. Later, Mrs. Hubbard married Hugh Moffat, January 27, 1879. She died November 20, 1880. Sara, the youngest sister, died unmarried November 22, 1859.

When Thomas W. was three months old, the house in which he was born burned to the ground. His family sought a temporary residence in a building near by but soon removed to a house on Woodward avenue. This was a "rough cast house" nearly opposite Cliff's tavern where John R. street joins Woodward avenue. It was two and a half stories high, quite commodious and had a garden extending up to the Grand Circus Park. The Palmers remained here until some time in 1834 when they removed to their comfortable residence just completed on the corner of Fort and Shelby streets. Here they lived nearly seventeen years and in 1851 moved to a handsome new home on Jefferson avenue.

Tom's first school days were spent in Detroit where his good-nature and mischievousness quickly attracted many friends. One of his early teachers was Ebenezer Hurd Rogers, named after Ebenezer Hurd, an uncle of Tom's—the husband of his Aunt Betsy Witherell. In November 1842, when he was twelve years old he was sent to an excellent private school for boys and girls, conducted by the Rev. O. C. Thompson in the village of Palmer (St. Clair). Here he soon showed a precociousness which placed him far in advance of many of the older children.

Under Mr. Thompson, he prepared for the University of Michigan, studying Latin, Greek, algebra and the ordinary English branches. His essays written during the three years at the Academy show unusual originality of style and composition. Here he made many new friends, among them David Jerome, who later defeated him for the nomination for governor of Michigan.

Mr. Palmer used to tell amusing stories of his school days at Palmer. Once when Mr. Thompson wanted to have an exhibition of the work done in his school he called upon Tom to write a Latin salutatory. He says, "I didn't know what a salutatory was, but I looked it up in the dictionary and found that it was a 'welcome.' I didn't know any more about a Latin salutatory than a broncho, but I knew that few of those to be in attendance were any wiser, with the exception of Mr. Thompson, so I took down my Latin dictionary and produced a salutatory which if it had been read in the days of Augustus, would have been the hit of the year and would have convulsed four or five colosseums with laughter. But it went

off in good style, sounded very learned; everybody was satisfied and Mr. Thompson gratified."

Another amusing incident of his boyhood, one which shows an early budding of his business instinct, is told in connection with the excitement aroused over the Polk-Clay election. Tom's father was an ardent Clay man. Tom Sheldon, one of his playmates, was the son of a staunch Polk man. The boys bet a shilling on the election, but as the day approached Tom Palmer began to hedge, and having no shilling to pay his debt he bet with Jim Simpson against Clay. After election Sheldon came to collect his debt and Tom referred him to Jim who, when he learned of the game, vowed he would never pay Sheldon. For years it was a standing joke between Sheldon who annually dunned Palmer and Palmer who annually refused to pay his election bet.

Tom's schooldays at Palmer soon passed and in the fall of 1845 he was admitted into the State University at Ann Arbor. Here he continued his former studies, always keeping in sight his early ambition to study law and by that means to enter the field of politics. He was very popular with his professors, the Ann Arbor people with whom he became acquainted and with his college chums. In 1847 he joined the Chi Psi fraternity.

Owing to ill health from which he had suffered all through his college course and to continual trouble with his eyes, he was forced to give up his studying early in 1848 and for a time to abandon his desire to become a lawyer. He returned to Detroit and soon with five of his college chums decided to travel, paying his way by Daguerrean art. He also made arrangements to consult an eye specialist while in New York.

On October 24, 1848, David James, Cleveland Whiting, Stephen Tillotson, James Witherell, George Kellogg and Tom Palmer boarded the "Potomac" bound for Brazil by way of Cadiz. Tillotson furnished most of the capital and the boys went in debt for the balance. Palmer's letter to his mother just before sailing was full of enthusiasm at the prospect of the trip and hope that his eyes would recover in the long rest so that he could study law upon his return.

The voyage across the ocean was rough and tedious and on December 1, 1848, six weary boys set their feet upon *terra firma* for the first time in thirty-four days. They landed at Cadiz on a bright, warm day, and in after years Palmer often described the joy they felt upon that December day in 1848. After a three weeks walking tour in Spain and Christmas at Cadiz, they set sail December

30, for Rio Janeiro, which Palmer described as the "dirtiest place on earth."

He then returned to New Orleans, landing there May 1, 1849. His independent spirit prompted him to stop there long enough to work off his debt, but his longing for home and the knowledge that he would be promptly invited to return, that his debts would be paid and a parental blessing bestowed as soon as his family knew of his return to his home country, made him weaken. He wrote home with the expected result and reached Detroit early in the summer.

The condition of his eyes still prevented close application or reading, and he again abandoned his desire to study law. In May 1850, he set out on board the steamer Michigan, and landing at Green Bay, Wisconsin, very soon established himself with Whitney and Company, forwarding and commission merchants. During his connection with this company he was stationed at Kaukalin, Green Bay and Appleton. Here he saw plenty of opportunities to "turn a penny" and did not fail to take advantage of them. Here he also had his first political experience. In the fall of 1850, he was elected, without seeking the honor, delegate to the Whig county convention to be held October 22. He was chosen secretary of the convention and after transcribing the proceedings of the meeting, was appointed delegate to the senatorial convention to be held at Manitouwoc. This honor he declined, because he could not conscientiously neglect his business. Here he celebrated his 21st birthday January 25, 1851, and on the occasion wrote a letter home to his brother-in-law, Henry Roby, asking for advice as to his future career. This letter reveals a wisdom that is surprising in a young man of his age. It shows him still clinging to his early ambition to study law as a means to an end, but as being rather inclined to build a career upon a mercantile basis and to study law as a side issue.

Immediately following this letter he set himself up as a merchant, stocking himself with general goods and speculating in flour and grains. He succeeded very well, but was burned out January 19, 1852, and was able to recover but a small part of the damage covered by insurance. He made a plucky attempt to start again, but in the effort to recover his insurance he saw a better opening, which resulted in his establishing himself in partnership with his father in the insurance business in Detroit.

In Detroit, in 1853-4, they had an office under the Farmer's and Mechanic's Bank, and their business card read, "Insurance, Land and Tax Agency, Thomas Palmer and Son." They were agents for

the Monarch Fire and Life Insurance Company, Irving Fire Insurance Company and Mohawk Valley Fire Insurance Company. They also agreed to attend to the purchase and conveyancing of farms, wild land and city property and the payment of taxes, in Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois. They investigated titles and purchased patent titles to bounty lands in Illinois. Mr. Palmer immediately took his old place in the society of the city and was called by the young men of his acquaintance "quite a blood."

In July 1855, his first effort in a literary line was printed in the Detroit Tribune over the signature "Jose." On October 16, 1855, he married Lizzie Pitts Merrill, daughter of Charles Merrill, a wealthy lumber man who owned and operated large pine interests in Michigan and ran a large mill at East Saginaw. He continued in business with his father until 1860 when he became bookkeeper for the firm of Charles Merrill and Company. In 1863 he went into partnership with Mr. Merrill and remained with the firm until Mr. Merrill's death in 1872, after which he took into the company as partner, J. A. Whittier of Saginaw. Under the name of C. Merrill and Company, they managed the business for over thirty years, selling out only in 1903.

In the summer of 1856 Palmer made several stump speeches for Fremont and Dayton, and in August while visiting in Portland, Maine, made an address before a Republican meeting, upon which the papers commented favorably. In 1860 he came near being nominated alderman of the first ward, but lost to N. P. Jacobs.

In 1864, owing to Mrs. Palmer's ill health, they took up their residence on the corner of Woodward avenue and Farnsworth street, which at that time was looked upon as a suburban home. Here his attention was divided between his business and the management of a miniature farm. Upon the death of his father in 1868, he assumed the care and responsibility of all of his mother's estate—the lands on Jefferson avenue and a farm out Woodward avenue where the present "Palmer Park" is located. On December 28, 1872, Mr. Merrill died, leaving his daughter and Mr. Palmer his heirs.

The year 1873 was the real beginning of Palmer's political career, which extended over less than twenty years. That year he was elected one of the estimators at large on the first Board of Estimates of the city. The most important question which came before them was the buying of a city park. In 1876 Mr. Palmer was a candidate for member of Congress for the First District, but was beaten by Henry M. Duffield. In 1878 he declined to run again, but upon the earnest solicitation of his friends he accepted the

nomination for state senator, tendered him by acclamation, and won the election.

While in the state senate he introduced a bill to establish an institution for delinquent girls, which was passed. He presented a petition of many citizens of Detroit for the passage of a law enabling the city to issue bonds to the sum of $700,000 for the purchase of Belle Isle for a city park and to build a bridge over the American channel of the Detroit River. This bill was acted upon and May 27, 1879, the legislature authorized the city, with the consent of the estimators, to issue bonds and purchase the island. On September 25 of that year the purchase was consummated. Mr. Palmer's interest in the improvements of his city is seen in his support of a petition of Detroit citizens for a boulevard around the city, which resulted in a provision of the legislature May 21, 1879, for a Board of Boulevard Commissioners. A petition signed by women and men of Detroit for an amendment to the State Constitution to the end that women might vote for the election of school officers was presented by Thomas W. Palmer. He was also interested in petitions for prohibition, and during his short period of two years he became the champion of several causes which he continued to support throughout the rest of his life.

In 1879 he was chairman of the Republican committee, and made several campaign speeches. He ran for nomination for governor of the state, but was defeated by his old school friend of St. Clair Academy, David Jerome. This defeat was thought to have been a great disappointment to Mr. Palmer, but his speech when Jerome was nominated showed that he was a good loser and generous even in defeat.

"One by one the martyrs pass before you! But we come not as martyrs, but as apostles of the great Republican party. It was said that when the French army was retreating from Moscow in the march, while the soldiers exhausted by hunger, frozen by the cold, were dropping by the wayside, they would rise as Napoleon passed by and cry out 'Long live the Emperor' then fall back in the snow as their winding sheets. What was it the French soldier cheered as Napoleon passed by? Was it the man who crossed the bridge at Lodi? * * * * They cheered because they saw in that cocked hat and gray surtout, visions of the vine-covered cottage on the banks of the Seine or the Loire, the gray-haired father, the yearning eyes of the mother, the little brothers and sisters and all the delights of home.

"So do we, who have been frozen out today by the votes of your

delegates rise up and cry out as the great Republican party passes by 'Long live the Republican Party.' * * * *

"Thanking you gentlemen of the convention and particularly my friends within your ranks who have been so generous in their support of me, I congratulate you upon the result you have achieved. In nominating Mr. Jerome you have done the very best you could under the circumstances, possibly with one exception. I predict an overwhelming majority for our candidate in November."

On Decoration day, 1879, he made an eloquent address on the Campus Martius near the Soldiers' Monument. This was only the beginning of many eloquent addresses by Michigan's most popular orator.

In 1882 his name began to appear for United States Senator to succeed Ferry, but not until he saw that Ferry was losing did he allow his name to be used. He won the election and took his seat as senator December 3, 1883. While in the Senate he made one of the first speeches ever made in that body in favor of woman suffrage. He strongly favored government regulation of railroads, and originated the phrase "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." He was one of the few who dared to take a stand against trusts, and in his speeches he sounded warnings against the dangers of permitting big corporations to gain so much power. He introduced a bill in favor of regulations to restrict immigration and prepared an exhaustive and comprehensive report for its support. He was chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, had charge of a bill creating the Department of Agriculture, and had much to do with its passage. As a presiding officer he had an enviable reputation for dignity and neatness of dispatch.

He was a gifted orator and a still better debater. His address in Washington at the memorial exercises for Gen. John A. Logan is generally regarded as his most finished oratorical effort. On June 29, 1887, he addressed the graduating class in the University of Michigan, and because of his attitude toward the liquor question he was severely criticised by papers when his name was again mentioned for political office in 1888. His words, "It is better that the strong should want alcohol than that the weak should be overcome by it" were quoted and commented upon, but Mr. Palmer put a quietus on the criticisms by announcing that he was not a candidate for second term. At this time there was a rumor that he was to be made Secretary of Agriculture in Harrison's Cabinet, but in spite of Palmer's enthusiasm over agriculture and his work in establishing that department, he did not receive the portfolio.

In 1889, unsolicited, Harrison offered Palmer the embassy to

Spain. A grand farewell dinner was given in his honor and he sailed in April, accompanied by his wife, his niece and heir, Mary Roby Hamilton, her husband Capt. Hamilton, U. S. A., Mr. William Livingstone, Jr., and General Friend Palmer, his cousin.

Even while in Spain he was not allowed to rest. His friends were ever urging him to run for governor, and it is very probable that it was his intention to again enter the gubernatorial arena when he cut short his stay in Spain, departing in the early Spring of 1890. On the way to America he received news that his niece Mary Roby Hamilton had died. This, together with the death of his brother-in-law, Henry M. Roby, before his arrival in the city, so deeply affected Palmer that he emphatically declined to consider the possibility of becoming a candidate for Governor of Michigan.

In June 1890 Harrison appointed Palmer one of the Commissioners for the World's Fair to be held at Chicago in 1893 and the board elected him President. The excellent results of his work in this connection speak volumes for his wonderful executive ability and his tact in handling people. This ended Palmer's political career, although there were frequent attempts to draw him again into the whirl, in 1895 and 1899.

After the Fair he suffered from a nervous collapse which necessitated a long rest. This was spent with Mrs. Palmer on Long Island Sound where they later built a beautiful home known as Larchmont Manor. In the fall of 1895 their Woodward avenue residence was destroyed by fire. Fortunately many of the valuable pictures, rugs and curios had been moved to Larchmont and were preserved. In 1897 the Senator built a handsome brick residence on the Log Cabin Farm, where he spent his declining years until his death June 1, 1913. There, surrounded by his books, he welcomed his friends, annually entertained the "Old Boy's Club," and celebrated several of his birthdays. He read, wrote, learned to ride a bicycle and indulged in has favorite hobby of farming and breeding fancy stock.

As no child had ever entered the Palmer home, the Senator lavished his affection upon an adopted daughter, Grace Palmer Rice and a Spanish boy, Harold Palmer, to whom Mr. and Mrs. Palmer had become deeply attached during his official life to Spain, and who became his heir.

His business activities throughout his life, although varied, had been almost uniformly successful and he had amassed a large fortune before he entered the political arena. He always gave freely, both privately and publicly; hospitals, charitable institutions, G.

A. R., Y. M. C. A. and the University of Michigan were recipients of his generosity.

A lover of art, he was one of the founders of the Art Museum of Detroit, gave $15,000 to start it and was its first President. In 1848 he was one of the original members of the "Vingt Club," a society similar to the Audubon Society, and in 1877 he was one of the founders of the Detroit Humane Society.

During the Civil War he was one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the Michigan Soldiers' Monument Association. Upon its organization, in July 1861, he was chosen secretary, and served through 1885. The site chosen for the monument was in east Grand Circus Park, and the cornerstone was laid July 4, 1867. After much consultation and in accordance with the recommendations of Randolph Rogers, the artist, it was decided to locate the monument on the Campus Martius. The cornerstone was removed and on April 9, 1872, the monument was formally dedicated.

Mr. Palmer was a member of many patriotic societies, of several city clubs, the Equal Suffrage Club of Michigan and the National American Woman's Suffrage Association. He was a member of Zion Lodge No. 1 and an honorary member of the Light Guards.

Although a Unitarian and a liberal contributor to all its demands, he gave freely to the support of other religious institutions. The Mary W. Palmer M. E. Memorial Church he erected as a loving tribute to his mother, and in his will he left a generous sum toward the support of superannuated Methodist Episcopal preachers.

In acknowledgment of several gifts to, and a lifelong interest in, Albion College, President Dickie conferred upon Palmer as a Christmas gift in 1904, the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

He was always the first to be called upon if any guest of honor was to be entertained. He was a popular toast master and chairman, and no committee for civic or patriotic entertainment was complete without him. He was constantly called to preside at some public function and always acquitted himself with brilliancy and wit. An amusing story related in illustration of his resourcefulness is as follows: In 1887 upon the occasion of a visit of a number of Mexican government officials, Palmer gave an eloquent address of welcome in Spanish. After the speech, the Mexicans crowded about Palmer, praising his Spanish and the warm welcome, and asking a thousand questions, delighted with the thought that there was at least one person who could understand their native tongue. After a moment of confused embarrassment, Palmer shook himself free of the ardent Mexicans and feigning deafness, beat a hasty retreat.

However he was never so happy as when at his Log Cabin farm

at the five mile road out Woodward avenue farming and playing the role of "mein host." This farm he inherited from his mother, and by additions and improvements he had made of it a beautiful spot. Here in 1887, he gratified a whim of Mrs. Palmer's to live in a real log cabin. Furnished throughout with handsome old mahogany that had been in the Palmer, Witherell and Merrill families and equipped with every modern appliance, the log cabin made a comfortable suburban residence. At "Font Hill" as it was first called, "Log Cabin Farm" Mr. and Mrs. Palmer spent much of their time, away from the noise and confusion of the city which had gradually encroached upon their Woodward avenue home.

In 1895 Mr. Palmer presented the city with one hundred and forty acres of his beloved farm to be used as a pleasure park for the people of the City of Detroit, with only one stipulation, that none of the virgin forest should be wantonly destroyed. "Log Cabin Park," or "Palmer Park" as it is also called, is one of the most beautiful parks in the city, second only to Belle Isle. It is visited daily by thousands and is a beautiful and fitting monument to one of Detroit's most loyal and useful citizens.

A sketch of this great man would not be complete without a few words concerning the faithful partner of his long and useful life, who is now making her home at Larchmont Manor. Mrs. Palmer, Lizzie Pitts Merrill, was the daughter of Charles Merrill and Frances Pitts. She was always a frail, delicate woman, but so far as her health would permit she took a keen and active interest in all of Mr. Palmer's affairs. She traveled with him, was with him while in Spain and was one of the most charming and popular hostesses during Mr. Palmer's Washington career.

Mrs. Palmer was interested in the Humane Society, and on July 15, 1901, gave the city the "Merrill Humane Fountain" in memory of her father. She also shared in the gift of "Log Cabin Park" and the famous Log Cabin. Although wealthy in her own right, she was the principal beneficiary and residuary legatee in the will of her husband.

Mr. Palmer's final act of generosity is shown in the terms of his will, in which he has provided for a host of relatives, apparently remembering everyone in proportion to their wants, with donations of money or provisions for their support by annuities. All of the remainder of his estate after these bequests were made, he left to his wife.

# TWO EARLY MISSIONARIES TO THE INDIANS

LADY ANTOINETTE VON HOEFFERN.

FATHER FRANK PIERTZ.

BY RT. REV. MONSIGNOR F. A. O'BRIEN, LL. D.

# LADY ANTOINETTE VON HOEFFERN.[1]

BY RT. REV. MONSIGNOR F. A. O'BRIEN, LL. D.[2]

IN the old cemetery at Dobernig, Austria, there may be seen a monument inscribed, "To the Memory of Lady Antoinette Von Hoeffern." Pious pilgrims to this city of the dead are frequently seen about this quasi-neglected family burial place. The attention of travelers, especially those from America, is directed by the older visitors to this particular tomb. They will tell you that it is the grave of a missionary to America, who died in 1840. The grave of a woman, said to be a missionary to America naturally excites curiosity. The history may well be worth recording for this State was greatly benefited by the kindly acts of this woman, whose name few have heard and about whom fewer still know anything definite.

Antoinette Baraga was the youngest daughter of wealthy parents. She was born in the Castle Treffen in February, 1803. Reared in an excellent Christian home, with all the comforts that wealth could give, educated in the best schools of that period, she grew in grace and wisdom before men. As good as she was beautiful, she was a joy to her parents and relatives as well as to a large circle of admiring friends.

On the 31st of May, 1824, she was married to Sir Felix Von Hoeffern, a knight of the Holy Roman Empire. The wedding was

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[1]This paper was presented to be read at the midwinter meeting at Pontiac, Feb. 22, 1912. A short biographical sketch of Lady Von Hoeffern is given on page 468 of "Life of Bishop Baraga" by P. C. Verwyst, in which also is quoted an extract from one of her letters written in Mackinac, Sept. 8, 1837.

[2]The Right Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien was born in Monroe, Michigan, June 7, 1851, his parents being Michael and Margaret O'Brien. He was educated at Davis' School in Monroe; Assumption College, Sandwich, Ontario and Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, Cincinnati. The degree of A. M. was conferred on him in 1894, by the University of Michigan and that of LL. D. by the University of Notre Dame. In 1877 he was ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and since that time he has held the office of private secretary to Bishop Borgess of Detroit, assistant in the chancellor's office, professor at Assumption College, pastor pro tem of St. John's Church, Monroe; assistant at St. Vincent's Church at Detroit. In 1883 he was made the rector of St. Augustine's Church in Kalamazoo and he is now Dean of the Kalamazoo district. Pope Pius tenth made him a member of the Papal household with the title of Domestic Prelate and Right Reverend, Feb. 14th, 1913. Monsignor O'Brien founded Borgess Hospital; St. Anthony's School for Feebleminded Children; Gibbon's Hall, a college for young men; Barbour Hall, a seminary for little boys; Lefevre Institute, a preparatory school; and Nazareth Academy for the education of young ladies. He was a member of the board of examiners at West Point under President Harrison's administration, a member of the Michigan State Board of Corrections and Charities in 1886-7 and editor of the Kalamazoo Augustinean since 1893. In addition to these duties and those of a member of the board of trustees of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society and member of the Michigan Historical Commission, Monsignor O'Brien is the author of Status Animarum; Prejudice; Diocese of Detroit; Prison Congress; As the Bishop Saw It; Custome; Parish Societies; Le Pere Juste; Relation of the Catholic Church to Medicine; The King's Daughter; R. R. Elliott; Politeness; Mount Olivet.

celebrated in the old parish church with more than ordinary éclat, partially on account of the local prominence of the contracting parties but more particularly because the brother of the bride, who had been ordained to the priesthood the year before, was to perform the marriage ceremony.[3] This brother was no other than the Rt. Rev. Bishop Baraga of Marquette, the noted Indian missionary, and one of Michigan's greatest benefactors.

After a few years of happy married life Sir Felix died, leaving a desolate widow, without children.

The visit of Father Rese[4], afterward Bishop of Detroit, to Austria, in his endeavors to secure financial aid for the Indian missions through the Leopoldine Society (which he formed), together with the accounts given by other missionaries, and printed accounts in periodicals, prompted the prominent young priest of Medilka, Father Baraga, to offer his services to the American missions. He left his home in 1830 for the diocese of Cincinnati. On his arrival he was commissioned by Bishop Fenwick to the territory known as Michigan and the Northwestern Territory. He established his first Indian mission at what is now Little Traverse, attending from there the whole Northwest. He afterwards established a mission on the site of the present town of Superior, Wisconsin, there doing heroic work among the Indian tribes.

Father Baraga's letters to his sister were undoubtedly the immediate cause of her resolution to dispose of her wealth, to make an offering of herself, of her large estate and of everything which she had, to the Indian missions in America. A notion existed in her mind, it is said, that she might establish a religious community of nuns among the Indians. For this reason she went to Paris to prepare herself by a course of religious training, with the sisters of that city, so that she might be ready for any emergency. It was more or less of a surprise to the missionary on his return to Austria in 1837, to find that his sister awaited his return to America.

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[3]For data concerning the life of Bishop Baraga consult the "Life of Bishop Baraga" by Verwyst. An article in the Mich. P. & H. Coll., vol. 26, p. 534, entitled the "Life and Labors of Bishop Baraga" is also by Verwyst, and a description of Bishop Baraga's missionary labors and his life is found in vol. 32, p. 407; and vol. 38, pp. 510-11. Besides his fame as a missionary among the Indians of the Northwest, Bishop Baraga will always have a place among scholars for his work in reducing the Chippewa language to writing and giving it a grammar and a dictionary. Copies of the volume resulting from this labor, which took over ten years of his life, can be found in the University Library at Ann Arbor and in private libraries in Michigan and Wisconsin.

[4]Rt. Rev. Frederick Rese, first Bishop of Detroit, was a Hanovarian prelate and Roman doctor of divinity who came to America to assist Bishop Fenwick in the diocese of Cincinnati. He was consecrated Bishop of Detroit by Bishop Rosati of St. Louis, at Cincinnati, Oct. 7, 1833. In 1837 Bishop Rese was called to attend the third council of the Catholic hierarchy which convened at Baltimore and, soon after, went to Europe. He came back to Detroit but remained only a short time, returning to Europe in 1840. He died Dec. 27, 1871. R. R. Elliott writes of him as "amiable and winning" and as having a profound education and sparkling wit, joined to sincere piety, which "endeared him to all who had the good fortune to know him." See vol. 26, Mich. Pion. & Hist. Coll.; vols. 21, 37 and 38, same series; Shea's History of the Catholic Church in America, vol. 3; Landmarks of Wayne County and Detroit (Ross-Catlin) and Farmer's History of Detroit.

In the early months of 1837 she joined her reverend brother at Havre de Grace, on his way to Michigan. With the enthusiasm of a missionary, apparently she did not mind the trials and privations of the long and tedious journey and the sundering of all ties of family, friends and country.

Her first stop for any length of time was at Little Traverse, where she distributed considerable wealth and promoted several missions in which her brother was interested, erecting chapels, etc. Later on we find her in Mackinac. From there she wrote to her sister, stating that she was happy in her new field of labor. She said she was endeavoring to serve the Indians by instructing their children. She established quite a large industrial school, and taught the Indian women how to sew, wash, bake and cook in the modern way, furnishing cooking utensils at her own expense. She also gave them a course in general house work. Mackinac, at that period, seems to have been a central point. She describes it by saying that a "great many of the Indians, when they sold their property, came from five different provinces to this point." In her letters home, she spoke in glowing terms of the work of her reverend brother, and the good he accomplished. The Indians coming from a distance and finding her brother absent, would go to her with as much confidence as they would have had in him, seeking her advice and counsel. They honored her as his sister, as well as for her own worth. They shook her hand with great heartiness—greeting her as they did the chiefs at council meetings. When she went to the various wigwams to care for the sick, they would watch her approvingly, as long as she was in the wigwam. In many instances, after seeing what she had done for the poor and the sick, with tears in their eyes, would they endeavor to express their gratitude.

From Mackinac Lady Von Hoeffern went to Superior, where she lived for the greater portion of the time she remained in America. Her charity was so great and so many of the natives were benefited by it, that Superior became a veritable Mecca for all who were in distress. An epidemic of small-pox broke out in the neighborhood and several hundred were infected. Without regard for her own health, she labored night and day for the benefit of the red men. She was the cause of having a large number of them become Christians. During the year she was in the wilds, putting up with every privation, without regard for her own health, she contracted the disease which was the ultimate cause of her early death.

It was a disappointment that she did not establish a religious community among the natives, where her work might be forever perpetuated. After the experiment of sending the young Indian

braves to Rome for instructions for the priesthood, and its failure; and after a trial with several of the young squaws in the Ursuline community, it was decided by competent authority at that time, that it would be utterly useless to attempt fostering religious vocations among the natives because of the restlessness of their character. Lady Von Hoeffern remained at her brother's home during the last month's stay in America, interesting all with whom she came in contact in every work of charity. Her health finally failed and she was ordered by her physicians to return to her native land. The climate of the Lake Superior region was too severe for her frail constitution. She lived but a short while after returning to her old home, but during this time she earnestly tried to help those about her realize the needs of the American missions. Many people came from distant parts to see her and listen to the story of her life in America. She was a great factor in collecting money for the Indians in Michigan and Wisconsin.

A few of the older Indians of the state still remember this angel of charity and relate with pleasure the many wonderful things she did for the tribes, ranking her as the greatest woman that ever lived. Sacrificing her young life to the Lord, for her brethren's sake, she entered into her reward, lamented and revered by the people of the whole country about, who were edified by her saintly life and honored in having her remains in their keeping. We think it worth while to revive the memory of this noble woman and keep her name alive in the annals of our state.

The great work accomplished by Mother Catherine Drexel[5] for the benefit of the Indians and Negroes in our own day, whereby she sacrificed her position, her life and her means for the neglected brethren and about which so much has been written and spoken during the past decade, had its prototype long ago in the efforts of Lady Von Hoeffern, whose name and memory have almost been blotted from the history of the heroines of Michigan.

[5]Mother Catherine Drexel is a member of the noted Drexel family of Philadelphia, being a daughter of one of the Drexel brothers, bankers, of Philadelphia. She is now living in Cornwell (Maud P. O.) Penn. She has contributed from her own resources, more than a million of dollars for the Indian missions and has established a sisterhood, the members of which devote their lives to the betterment of the Indians and Negroes.

# FATHER FRANK PIERZ.[1]

BY THE RT. REV. MONSIGNOR FRANK A. O'BRIEN, LL. D.[2]

IT is strange, but nevertheless true, that the recent emigrants from Sclavonia have caused any amount of trouble in the Northwest, whilst missionaries from the same country in the early days were successful in achieving so much for civilization in the same territory.

Frank Pierz was born in Kamnik, Austria, of Sclave parents, the twenty-first day of November, 1785. He graduated with honors at Laibach in the same school which was attended by Baraga and Mrak. The Poles as a rule possess in a remarkable degree the linguistic talent. He acquired great proficiency in a number of languages. He was ordained in 1813 and labored in the parish of Gora seven years; afterwards in the parish of Pecah for ten years. He became famous for his knowledge of the science of agriculture and might be called the father of agricultural colleges. He organized farmers' meetings and established a farmer's journal. He greatly improved the condition of the farmers in all that section by his advice and writings. He was an expert in gardening and published several works on this subject which are highly spoken of, even until today.

Later he labored five years in Podbrzi, with as great success as he had achieved in his former parish, idolized by all engaged in cultivating the soil.

Father Baraga[3] wrote to him from St. Clair, Michigan, telling of all the good he could accomplish in this region. The letter met with a sympathetic response.

After twenty-two years in the ministry in his native country, he resigned his parish and all honor that was in store for him, to spend the remainder of his days among the poor abandoned Indians.

A man of fifty years, he set out for the work in the wilderness. He arrived in Detroit in the year 1835 and was cordially received by Bishop Resé[4]. He was sent, by him, to assist Father Baraga

[1]This paper was read at the annual meeting in June, 1912.
Sketches of the life of the Rev. Father Pierz will also be found in the Mich. P. & H. Coll., vol. 38, pp. 511-12, in an article entitled "Sketch of the Diocese of Grand Rapids," by Rev. Robert W. Brown; and in "Life of Bishop Baraga," by P. Chrysostumus Verwyst, O. F. M. (Milwaukee, 1900).

[2] For biographical sketch of the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Frank A. O'Brien see foot note with the article entitled "Lady Von Hoeffern" by the same author, in this volume.

[3]For reference to Bishop Baraga see foot note with article entitled "Lady Von Hoeffern;" this volume.

[4]For references to Bishop Resé see foot note with articles entitled "Lady Von Hoeffern," this volume.

in the Lake Superior region. As the season was far advanced he succeeded only in reaching Cross Village[5] where he remained for nearly four months.

In writing to his relatives he said, "these missionaries live in apostolic poverty. The churches are built of logs; they have very poor altars, but they have very pious worshippers. Candlesticks of wood and priests of gold. Their conduct is exemplary. They have the spirit of the first Christians in manners and piety."

Of Cross Village in 1835, he writes, "I found here two hundred and twenty-five Catholics. This number was soon increased by the conversion of the Pagans. The converts appear to live in their baptismal innocence. Their pious eagerness for hearing the word of God and receiving the Blessed Sacrament is to me a source of wonder. I admire their humility, piety, and love of neighbor. They appear anxious to acquire civilization. Many of my pupils read the Indian language after a month's study. They show great joy in attending divine service, although many live far away from the church. Mothers and fathers will bring their little ones to church with them. It is a great peasure to plant the seed in such fertile ground. Indeed I experience more heartfelt joy and pleasure in my work during these few months than I have during all my twenty years' ministry in the old country. It is tiresome but I am well satisfied. I am afraid on judgment day these children of the wilderness will put to shame many Christians."

In 1836 Cross Village was made a regular parish, and the incumbent appointed pastor. He accompanied the Indians on their hunting expeditions and spoke of making such a visit with them to Sault Ste. Marie. He claimed that the French Canadians treated him shabbily. They told him plainly that they did not want a priest among the Indians. In 1838 he was appointed pastor of Harbor Springs.[6] He wrote home that year this remarkable letter: "During the three years I have ministered to the Indians I have had plenty occasion to study their conduct and morals. I must say that they are all good natured, humble and docile. They are ready to receive good advice. Even in their wild state they live pure and innocent. It is not difficult to have them become Christians. They do, however, despise the deceptions of the white people, who, selling them whiskey, make them the most detestible wretches. I believe there is no nation on the face of the earth where you find so few instances of theft, injustice or infidelity. Murders are very rare."

[5]La Croix is in Emmet county on Lake Michigan and is now called Cross Village. Tackabury's Atlas gives the name La Croix to all that section which includes Readmond, Cross Village, Bliss and a corner of Center townships.

[6]Then called Little Traverse.

During his stay in America he continued to publish books and to write articles for his Sclavonian countrymen. He also published several books of poems, and corresponded regularly with a number of agricultural associations. In 1840, the Agricultural Society of Austria showed its appreciation, by presenting him with a handsome gold medal.

In 1845 the agent of the U. S. Government visited the settlement and was more than agreeably surprised at the progress made in the arts and customs of civilized life by the Indians.

The good priest was a strong advocate of temperance, and thwarted many a fur trader who was attempting to ruin the natives.

In 1848 Harbor Springs had 842 Christian Indians. Father Pierz also had charge of ten other missions, in addition to this. He asked relief and the parish was divided.

An interesting account of this period has been written by a Chippewa half breed named William Whipple Warren.[7] His writings, a history of the Objibways, are published by the Minnesota Society in Volume V of the Minnesota Historical Collections.

In 1857 Father Pierz wrote to a friend in his old home, stating that, although seventy years of age, he felt well and hearty. One of the sorrows which darkened his declining years, was the freezing to death of his assistant, Father Lautischar.[8]

[7]William Whipple Warren was a son of Lyman M. Warren (a descendent of Richard Warren one of the "Mayflower" pilgrims), and Mary, daughter of Michael Cadotte of Sault Ste. Marie. As Cadotte was half Objibway and his wife a full blooded Objibway woman, their daughter Mary, who became the mother of William Whipple Warren, was three-quarters bred and Warren himself was three-eighths Objibway. He was born at La Pointe, May 27, 1825, and his father took every means of giving him a good English education. He attended the mission school at La Pointe, the mission school at Mackinac Island and his grandfather Lyman Warren took him to the family home in Clarkson, N. Y., to attend school for two years. Later he attended the Oneida Institute at Whitesborough near Utica, N. Y. After his marriage to Miss Matilda Aitken, Mr. Warren, made his home in Minnesota at Two Rivers. In 1851 he took his seat as a member of the Minnesota Legislature when Col. D. A. Robertson, owner of the *Minnesota Democrat* induced him to write a series of articles about the Objibway people, their legends and their history as obtained from the old men of the nation. Later it was suggested that he gather these articles with other of his writings into a book. The Hon. Henry M. Rice, United States Senator from Minnesota, gave him material help and after Mr. Warren's death became the owner of the manuscript which was later presented to the Minnesota Society for publication. This with an introductory biography of William Whipple Warren by J. Fletcher Williams, Secretary of the Society, and an article by E. D. Neill on the connection of the Objibways with the early fur trade, based upon official and other records, comprises the fifth volume of the series of the Society's Collections.

[8]Rev. Laurence Lautischar, born Dec. 11th, 1820, Carniola, Austria, and ordained as a priest Aug. 3, 1845, arrived in New York, July 14, 1854, having offered his services as a missionary to the Indians at the time Bishop Baraga went to Europe in quest of priests and funds for his diocese in 1853. Father Lautischar was in Sault de Ste. Marie with Bishop Baraga for a short time, but was later sent to act as assistant to Rev. Father Mrak at La Croix where he was put in charge of the mission at Arbre Croche. In 1858 he offered his services to his countryman, Rev. Father Pierz, who has then stationed at Crow Wing, Minnesota, and was placed in charge of the savages of Red Lake about 250 miles from Crow Wing, "in the very heart of paganism." At the invitation of some Indians living on the opposite side of the lake from where he was stationed on Dec. 3, 1858, he crossed the lake to see and minister to them. On his return journey, towards evening, he encountered a fearful blizzard and, becoming blinded by the flying snow and sleet, he lost his way. He was but thinly clad for such a journey and, after wandering about on the ice in the darkness and storm, his feet finally became frozen so that he could no longer walk. In the morning when the Indians found his body, they found traces of his struggles to continue on his hands and knees. Father Pierz had the body brought to Crow Wing for burial and later it was interred in the cemetery lot reserved for dead priests in Duluth. See p. 416, "Life of Bishop Baraga" by P. C. Verwyst (Milwaukee).

In 1864 he visited his native land, soliciting from town to town for the Indian missions. Not only did he succeed in collecting considerable money but he secured a number of missionaries to work in this wonderful field. An interesting legend says, that on the 16th of August, 1864, Rev. I. Tomazin, one of the twelve missionaries who returned to America with Father Pierz, discovered a luminous cross of great beauty in the sky. This he pointed out to his companions who witnessed it and it was seen also by hundreds of other people. It remained in the heavens for fully thirty minutes. Father Pierz in writing of this manifestation says:

"It was not a meteor, or fantastic phenomena, but undoubtedly a sign of Divine mercy. When the natives saw it, many willingly came to the missionaries to be instructed and be baptized."

When eighty-four years of age, the venerable priest was the victim of a runaway accident and was seriously injured, but he finally regained his former health.

In 1870 he wrote to a friend, stating that he was in his eighty-seventh year and noticed that he was failing: "While I cannot do much, I attend twelve mission stations and preach nearly every day."

In 1873 he left Michigan for Europe, to spend the remaining days of his life at his old home. For thirty-eight years he labored amidst thousands of hardships and privations. Considering that all this amazing labor was accomplished by a man who was fifty years of age when he entered upon his career and who continued therein uninterruptedly until his eighty-eighth, we may safely say that his case can scarcely find a parallel in all history.

While on his trip homeward he wrote an interesting sketch of the life of Bishop Baraga, which was published after his arrival. He died at Laibach in Austria on the 22nd of January, 1880, in his ninety-fourth year.

He was not only a pioneer of religion in Michigan, but of civilization. He organized and promoted emmigration. His numerous letters abroad were given wide publicity, thus directing the attention of the old world to the resources of Michigan and the neighboring states which induced many to make their homes here, thereby adding to the natural wealth by their industry and thrift.

A very important document—an official report—gives accurate statistics regarding the Indian missions of Harbor Springs. It reads as follows:

ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN MISSION OF ARBRE CROCHE.[9]

About 180 years ago, the Ottawa Indians, coming from the Manitowaing Islands,[10] on the British side of Lake Huron, extirpated the whole tribe of the Machkotens,[11] living where at present is the missionary station at LaCroix, and established themselves at first from Waganakising,[12] on the shores of Lake Michigan, to the Little Traverse, and in the course of time they spread themselves still farther.

Their chief village was built on an eminence, three miles from Middleton,[13] near a large crooked tree, under which they held their councils, and whence the mission has take its name, Arbre Croche.

The Very Rev. G. Richard,[14] V. G., pastor of Detroit, while visiting, about twenty-five years ago, the missions of Sault Ste. Marie and Mackinac, of which he was the founder, made several excur-

[9]Arbe Croche is spelled variously as follows: Abercosh, Abre Croche, L,Arbre-chroche, L'Arbre Croche, L'Arbre Cruche. The words are French and mean bent or crooked tree. The place herein referred to is: first, a site near Middle Village, and later, the Mission built on the site of the present town of Harbor Springs, then called Little Traverse.

[10]Manitowaning Islands are probably the islands now called Manitoulin Islands. It was also spelled Manitoualian.

[11]Machkotens—Hand Book of American Indians (Bu. Am. Eth. Bul. 30) gives "Macoutens (little prairie people). The Jesuit Allouez says that the Kickapoo and Kichigami spoke the same Algonquian dialect as the Mascoutens. Schoolcraft records an Ottowa tradition of this early war and of their confederacy with the Asse or Bone Indians. The "garden-beds" of Southwestern Michigan is attributed to them. The last notice of them is in Dodge's list of 1779. After this the Mascoutens disappeared from history, the northern group having been absorbed by the Sauk or Fox confederacy and the southern group by the Kickapoo."

[12]Waganakising is given as Waganakisi in the petition of the Ottowa chiefs to the American government, Aug. 12, 1823. It was the Indian name for the French, "Arbre Croche" of which the English meaning is "bent tree," from a tree on a neighboring hill. The earliest Arbre Croche was at about the site of Middle Village (post-office Good Hart), Readmond township, Emmet county, but when Rev. Father Dejean came he founded his mission at Little Traverse (now Harbor Point) which took the name of New Arbre Croche. The Hand Book of American Indians gives Waganakisi or Old Arbre Croche as on the site of the present Harbor Springs and says that "It was one of the oldest and most important settlements in Michigan having been established in 1743 after the expulsion of the Macoutens from the district." That this is mistakenly placed on the site of Harbor Springs, the document quoted by Monsignor O'Brien shows plainly, for it says: "from Waganakising on the shores of Lake Michigan, to the Little Traverse." There is in addition the testimony of Bishop Baraga's journal and Blackbird's History of the Ottowa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan. The following are some of the many various spellings of the word: War-gun-uk-ke-zee (Tanner); Waw-gun-nuk-kez-ze (Ibid) Waw-gun-uk-ke-zie (Ibid); Waw-gun-uk-ke-zie (Ibid); Wawkwunkizzie (Ibid); Wa-yog-a-unck-e-zid (vol. 12, Mich. Pion. & Hist. Coll.). Baraga and Shea spell it, Waganakisi. Tanner also calls it "Forked Tree."

[13]Middletown is given as identical with Middle Village in Hand Book of American Indians (Bu. Am. Eth. Bul. 30). Middle Village is shown in Tackabury's Atlas of Michigan in the extreme southwest corner of the township of Readmond, Emmet county. Near it was the original Arbre Croche, called later, Old Arbre Croche. Its postoffice is Good Hart which probably came from the Indian chief, Kaw-me-no-te-a. E. J. Blackbird, author of the "History of the Ottowa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan," says: "In the fall of 1827 my father (the Ottowa chief, Macate Binessi), left his subjects at Abre Croche proper, now Middle Village, in charge of his brother, Kaw-me-no-te-a, which means Good Heart, as he was persuaded by the other chiefs to come and establish himself where the mission was and send his children to school."

[14]In his History of Michigan, Lawton T. Hemans pays this tribute to Father Richard: "In the history of these days there is one figure that stands out in noble proportions, a vigorous, helpful spirit amid discord and inaction. It is that of Father Gabriel Richard, one of the order of St. Sulpice. From his arrival in Detroit, in 1798, until his death as the pastor of the parish of St. Anne, he gave his splendid talents unreservedly for the benefit of the whole people of Detroit and the territory at large. It was in 1809 that Father Richard brought out the first printing press of the territory. In the same year he commenced the publication of a small news paper bearing the title of the *Michigan Essay or Impartial Observer.* Although the issues of the paper were irregular and not long continued, they marked the beginning of the first paper published within the territory. Father Richard's efforts extended to many fields. He made use of the printing press he had imported to produce a few books of his own compilation. He lent the aid of his cultured mind to the cause of

sions among the Indians of this place, who were as yet, pagans, and finding that they were favorably disposed towards our religion, he wrote to the Right Rev. Bishop Fenwick,[15] of Cincinnati, who sent hither the Rev. John Dejean,[16] in 1829, the first missionary stationed here; he baptized more than three hundred Indians, and thus established a mission among the Ottawas. He erected on the shores of the Little Traverse Bay, the first church,[17] which he dedicated to St. Peter.[18] Here, the neophytes, under his direction,

[15]The Rt. Rev. Edward Fenwick, D. D., was consecrated first Bishop of the Diocese of Cincinnati and held that office from 1821 to 1833 when he died of cholera contracted while making a tour of the missions of Michigan and the Northwest which were at that time included in this diocese. On this trip he visited among other places, Arbre Croche, Green Bay and Machinac. See an article by Monsignor O'Brien, Mich. Pi. & Hist. Coll., vol. 9, pp. 128-137, entitled the "Diocese of Detroit—What is was—What it is," vol. 38, p. 510 and Shea's History of the Catholic Church in the United States, vol. 3. Bishop Baraga's description of Bishop Fenwick's last visit to Arbre Croche can be found in a letter quoted in the "Life of Bishop Baraga" by Verwyst, p. 129 and a letter from Bishop Baraga containing a description of Bishop Fenwick's death can be found on p. 130 of the same volume.

[16] Rev. Fr. Dejean was a French secular priest, who returned to France on account of ill health after two years in which he accomplished a great deal of good.

Of him E. J. Blackbird in his History of the Ottowa and Chippewa Indians in Michigan says:

"There were only three Indian log houses at that time in Little Traverse (Harbor Springs). * * * But we and all other Indians lived in wig-wams and all the Indians were dressed in Indian style. Rev. Dejan (Dejean) brought with him a Frenchman from Detroit named Joseph Letorenue (L'Etourneau) as school teacher and two girls from Mackinac Island as domestic servants and an old nun whose real name I never learned and knew as "Sister." She was exceedingly kind to the Indian children and we all liked her very much. The log house was used as a dwelling as well as a school house as all the boys and girls who attended school were kept there continually, same as boarding school. The larger boys and girls were taught household duties and to cook for the scholars. * * * Rev. Mr. Dejan visited the Indians a good deal during the week days purposely to instruct them in good manners and customs of the white man ordering things generally bow to be done and how the women should do their domestic duties, not work out of doors and take good care of what belonged to their household.

[17]Ths church was 54x30 feet with ten large windows. A school and parsonage, 46x20 feet was also built. In it were three rooms the largest of which was used for a school-room. These buildings were constructed of hewn logs. The Indian converts were without horses and had to carry the heavy logs out of the woods to the place where the buildings were erected. Some of the logs were thirty feet long and very heavy and it took a great number of men to handle them. At times 40 or 50 Indians would work hard at these buildings for a whole week. The chapel was dedicated Sept. 1829; the school opened Aug. 23, 1829 and within a month had thirty-eight scholars. See Verwyst's "Life of Bishop Baraga."

[18]On page 145, Life of Bishop Baraga (Verwyst). Father Baraga is quoted as giving the following list of his missions:

1. New Arbre Croche, the church of which was dedicated by Father Dejean to St. Peter.
2. Old Arbe Croche (near Middle Village).
3. Mission of St. Mary with a church dedicated by F. Dejean (probably at Cheboygan).
4. Mission of St. Paul, also a church dedicated by the above Father.
5. Mission of St. Ignatius, founded by F. Baraga.
6. La Grande Traversee, with nineteen Christians.
7. Beaver Island, with fifty-five Christians. (Called Castor Island in mms.)
8. Manistique, with thirty-three Christians. (Called Manistee in mms.)
9. Little Detroit, with twenty-six Christians. (An island at the mouth of Green Bay.)

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education and was ever the willing servant of the people as he was the spiritual shepherd of his flock." Pp. 106-7.

In speaking of the Catholepistemiad or University of Michigan established by Judge Augustus Woodward in 1817, Mr. Hemans writes on p. 128:

"Rev. John Monteith and Rev. Fr. Gabriel Richard were duly appointed to all the professorships and they forthwith made provisions for primary schools at Detroit, Frenchtown and Mackinaw and an academy and college in Detroit.'" On p. 142, Mr. Hemans describes the reign of the cholera during the year of 1832 and says:

"Many died. Among the victims was the Rev. Father Gabriel Richard who for many weeks before his death had been everywhere present giving material aid and spiritual consolation to the people."

Biographical sketches of the life of Father Richard can be found in vol. 1, pp. 481-495 and vol. 35, pp. 449-451, Mich. Pi. & Hist. Coll., while the story of Father Richard's election to Congress is told by C. M. Burton in his "Landmarks of Detroit." A book issued by Laflamme & Proulix (Quebec, 1911). *"Gabriel Richard, Sulpicien cure et second fondateur de la Ville de Detroit,"* by N. E. Dionne, LL. D., M. S. R. C., Professeur d'Archeologie Canadienne a l'Universite Laval, is written in French and gives a full history of the life and achievement of Father Richard.

built a village of sixty houses. He remained with them but two years.

His successor, the Rev. Frederick Baraga, who came here May 31, 1831, applied himself to the good work with so much zeal that in the space of two years he converted 461 persons from paganism.

This indefatigable missionary established also six other dependent missions; one at Lacroix, with a church dedicated to St. Anthony; one at Middletown, Church of St. Xavier; one at Cheboygan, Church of St. Mary; one at Castor Island,[19] Church of St. Leopold; one at Manistee,[20] Church of St. Joseph; one at Grand Traverse Bay, where there is no church.

He has opened schools everywhere, and given a great part of his time to the instruction of the children and catechumens. His successors, Rev. Fr. Simon Sandërl[21] and Rev. Mr. Debruyn,[22] baptized, during five years, 325 persons; but they have particularly applied themselves to confirm the converts in their faith, and perfect the missions by thoroughly instructing all.

God has so blessed my labors in this mission, that, from the date of my arrival, Sept. 30, 1839, to July 15, 1847, I have added to it 956 souls, mostly converts from paganism. There have been altogether about 200 deaths, leaving, at present in the mission, 1,842 Catholics. To attend this mission and ten others—some at a considerable distance—as they should be attended to, is a work by far exceeding the strength of a single missionary. It became therefore necessary to divide them into two parts, which was done by the Right Rev. Bishop Lefevre[23] during his visit here, the 10th of July, 1847. He has left to my care the missions of Arbre Croche (now

[19]The Castor Islands are now called Beaver Island as the word *Castor* is the French name for the animal named beaver in English. They are situated just west of Charlevoix in Lake Michigan, and were celebrated in state history later as the home of the Mormons and their kingdom under the rule of "King" James Strang. Reference to the *Isles Castor* is made in Lieut. Gorrell's Journal, vol. 1, Wis. Hist. Coll., pp. 43-45, and in Alexander Henry's narrative of his adventures.

[20]That the mission of Manistee was located at the present town of Manistique is evident from Father Baraga's description in his journal while stationed at the mission of L'Arbre Croche. He wrote of his first visit there in May, 1832, (quoted in Verwyst's Life of Bishop Baraga, p. 124) and says: "From there (Beaver Island) I went to another small village which is two days journey from Beaver Island on the other side of Lake Michigan in the territory of the Northwest."

[21]Rev. Father Simon Sandërl, C. S. S. R. was the Superior of the Redemptorists in the U. S. and in 1833 he was given charge of the Ottawa mission at Arbre Croche when Rev. Fr. Baraga (afterwards Bishop) went to found a mission on the Grand River. Rev. Father Sandërl had with him at Arbre Croche three lay brothers of the Redemptorists congregation. P. 145, "Life of Bishop Baraga," Verwyst.

[22]Shea's History of the Catholic Church in America, vol. 3, p. 637 says: "The see (Diocese of Detroit) was governed meanwhile (after Bishop Rese was called to Europe in 1837) by the Vicars general (Rev. Fr. De Bruyn and Very Rev. S. T. Badin) until the death of the Very Rev. John DeBruyn at St. Philip's College, of which he was president, Sept. 11, 1839, at the age of 41. Born at Lierre, Belgium, he was ordained in 1832 and came the next year, laboring for a time at Arbre Croche."

[23]The Rt. Rev. Peter Paul La Fevre was consecrated Bishop of Zela and Coadjutor of Detroit at Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1841, and he was the administrator of the affairs of the diocese of Detroit from that time until 1843. Bishop Résé retained the title of Bishop of Detroit, although not living in Detroit, until his death. Shea's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. 3, p. 568.

Little Traverse), Cheboygan, Agakatchiwing,[24] Grand Traverse and all the other places to Machigong,[25] on the lake shore—the whole containing 1,242 souls, most excellent Catholics. The missions of Lacroix, Middleton, Castor Island and Manestie, containing 600 souls, has been confided to the Rev. Ignatius Mrak.[26]

After the example of my predecessors, I have, with all energy and diligence, applied myself, not only to teach the Catholic religion and the sciences to our Indians; but also to instruct them in whatever is necessary to a good education and tends to civilization; and I see my endeavors so blessed and so fruitful, that this mission presents an evident example that the Indians are capable, not only of being brought up good Christians, (in which they by far surpass the whites) but also are susceptible of the highest civilization, for they are generally industrious and skilful in what they undertake; there are among them good carpenters, joiners and coopers—they build neat and substantial houses. They are assiduous in cultivating their farms, which they bought from government and sell much fruit and vegetables. The women are also very industrious and have made great proficiency in household economy, making all the clothes for their families, and mats, baskets and other fancy work with porcupine quills, which display great taste and skill. In fine, I can truly assert, of the Indians of these missions, that they make such progress in their schools and in civilization as fully to satisfy their superiors; that they have gained the esteem of the whites, and deserve all the favor of our government."

Abre Croche Mission,

FRANCIS PIERZ, MISSIONARY.

July 15, 1847.

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[24]Agakachiwing is given as Aegakotcheising and Aegakotcheising in Hand Book of American Indians. (Bu. Am. Eth. Bul. 30) which describe it as "An Ottawa village in Michigan in 1851." Schoolcraft, in his Indian Tribes, vol. 1, p. 478 gives the census of this village in 1851, placing it in the same list with L'Arbre Croche, Village of the Cross, Middle Village, Cheboigan and other places of the same locality. It had 48 inhabitants in that year.

[25]Machigong is an early name for Muskegon.

[26]The Right Rev. Ignatius Mrak, Bishop of Marquette, was born in Carniola, Austria, Oct. 16, 1810. In 1859 Bishop Leferene made him Vicar-general for the Indian missions located in the lower peninsula of Michigan. Ten years later he became Bishop Baraga's successor in the See of Marquette. Like his illustrious countrymen, Baraga and Pierz, he has spent about forty or more years in the Indian Mission field and in 1900 he was chaplain of the Sister's hospital in Marquette. See Life of Bishop Baraga, P. C. Verwyst (Milwaukee, 1900); vol. 38, p. 512, vol. 21, p. 463, Mich. Pion. and Hist. Coll.

# THE UPPER PENINSULA: A SKETCH

BY JOSEPH H. STEERE.

# THE UPPER PENINSULA: A SKETCH.[1]

BY JOSEPH H. STEERE.[2]

HISTORICAL incidents of the discovery, early occupation and settlement of a State, a portion of a State, or a locality, though comparatively unimportant from a national point of view, have always been deemed worthy to be treasured up for the remembrance of posterity, as an instructive and interesting study. Along that line of inquiry we invite attention to the Upper Peninsula of this State, a stretch of land extending between Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan, 318 miles in length east and west and varying in width north and south from 30 to 164 miles. It lies within the embrace of, and its shores are margined by, the three largest of the great fresh water seas so strangely grouped together in the heart of this continent.

It was not originally a part of Michigan. How in an early day it came to be given to this State in compensation for the loss of a few townships on her southern border which were claimed by Ohio and taken with a strong hand, is another story, to be found in the annals of the bloodless Toledo War. Suffice it to state, upon that subject, that the people of the lower peninsula, though since somewhat reconciled, were then indignant over the compulsory exchange. They spoke very unkindly of the climate and resources of their recent acquisition, and publicly protested that they had been cheated and defrauded in a contention where might made right. In their published protests they declared that, even if the new territory had any value, which was questioned, yet "for a great portion of the year nature has separated the upper and lower peninsulas by impassable barriers, and there never can be any identity of interests or community of feeling between them." Even yet that sentiment is not entirely obliterated.

To some extent the upper peninsula is yet a thing apart from the rest of the State; its climate and resources are different; it is not

[1]Read before the Witenagemote Club, of Detroit.

[2]JOSEPH HALL STEERE was born at Addison, Lenawee county, May 19, 1852. He was educated at the Raisin Valley Seminary and the Adrian high school, later entering the Law Department of the University of Michigan. He taught school for some time before engaging in the practice of law. He has served as Circuit Judge of the Eleventh Judicial District for a number of years. He was appointed to the Supreme Bench August 30, 1911 to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Justice Frank A. Hooker, and on November 5, 1912, was elected to fill the unexpired term. April 7, 1913, he was elected for a full term of eight years.

settled, cleared and subdued as lower Michigan is; as an entirety it is the newest, wildest and least developed portion of the State, and it still offers an opportunity for pioneer labor and adventure. Here and there, sparsely interspersed, we find cities and villages—civilized centers which certain industries have developed. Occasionally we see a farming community of some pretensions; now and then the lumbermen's camps and saw-mills, or a log cabin with its stump-adorned clearing, where the hardy settler is trying to hew out a home in the forest; but those are small spots comparatively in the vast area of untamed wilderness. Only a short distance from a busy town, you may lose yourself in the dark sweep of the primeval forest, where the partridge nests, the deer range and the bear and lynx yet lurk in the thicket. In places, not many miles from fair-sized cities and villages, the hunter can hear, from his tent or cabin door, the evening silence broken by the lone howl of the wolf as he gives his rallying call down by the lake and later the full cry of the pack rings out as they pursue the wounded deer through the darkness of the night. That part of the state is yet called the "Wilds of Northern Michigan," and those living there today have a feeling that they are pioneers. Most of them were born elsewhere, and immigrated from more thickly settled sections of the South and East to that new and developing country, many not thinking to remain long, others to grow up with it.

Civilization has not yet tamed the rugged wildness of its shores; nevertheless, that so-called newest portion of Michigan is in point of discovery the oldest. Before a white man ever stepped upon the lower peninsula, that part of our state was well known to Europeans. More than a century before the birth of this nation the lily of the Bourbons had floated over that peninsula and the sovereignty of France had been there declared. While Roger Williams, a refugee from Puritan oppression, was still struggling to found his Rhode Island colony, "to be a shelter for persons oppressed of conscience;" more than five years before Eliot, the New England missionary, had preached to the tribes of Indians dwelling within six miles of Boston harbor, the Jesuit Fathers had toiled along their westward way to those shores, and had erected their altars and preached the Christian faith to the two thousand savages dwelling by the Falls of St. Mary.

Revealed in the true light of written history you can find, extending over a period of two and one-half centuries, a procession of hardy explorers and pioneers resorting to and laboring in that peninsula. They were of all degrees and stations in life. They went there searching for a pathway to China; they went in quest

of adventure and conquest, of peltry and souls, fish, mineral, timber, health and land. To but enumerate all those historically worthy of mention would consume the evening in a recital of names as meager of detail as Homer's catalogue of the troops and ships which sailed against wind-swept Troy, or the Jewish genealogy in the Book of Chronicles. I can only mention here and there an era, an incident or an individual.

To find the first pioneers of the Upper Peninsula we must go back of written history and, with the antiquarian, inquire into the young world's early dawn at a period long before the advent of the American Indian races, as known to the whites. There we learn of the pre-historic race which dwelt and delved on those shores—the ancient miners of the Great Lakes, the vestiges of whose labors are of such magnitude that modern miners have paused in astonishment. The remains of the works of those ancient toilers in the mines extend for more than 150 miles along the copper-range in Houghton, Ontonagon, and Keweenaw counties and on Isle Royal. They worked with a system, intelligence and industry not characteristic of known savage tribes. From the enormous amount of work done, it is manifest that there was a large number of people, and that they worked through long ages. In their excavations, along the veins rich with native copper, are found the charcoal of their fires, the marks of their tools on the metal, thousands of stone hammers, chisels, rotten and crumbling but yet distinguishable skids and levers for raising masses of copper, bailing dishes and ladders. These to the antiquarian are rich legacies of the immemorial past. Today those rediscovered veins are supplying the copper markets of the world. No one of the existing tribes of Indians, or their known ancestors, worked these mines or knew of them. Who those ancient people were, whence they came or whither they went, are questions not yet satisfactorily answered even by those who are learned in such matters and who delight to trace the footprints of vanished peoples.[1]

The first white traders and missionaries who visited the peninsula found it the home and hunting-ground of the Chippewa or Ojibawa Indians, an intelligent, hardy and then powerful people; a scattered remnant of their descendants is yet surviving. Their history has several times been written by able historians, amongst whom are Henry R. Schoolcraft, long a resident of Michigan; and William W.

[1]See Cyrus Thomas' "Problems of the Ohio Mounds" in the publication of the Bureau of Ethnology; also "Hand Book of American Indians" article on "The Mound-builders." That all the aborigines of America, except the Esquimaux, are of common origin seems to be established. Lake Superior, either by reason of glacial drift or from mining by the Indians seems to have furnished the copper supply of prehistoric America.—EDITOR.

Warren of St. Paul, a highly educated half-caste of the tribe, who wrote their history as he gathered it from the historical traditions told by their seers and aged-men in the wigwams and around the camp fires. The Chippewas, too, were immigrants and pioneers, tracing their origin centuries back to the lower waters of the St. Lawrence river. Their early traditions tell that, many strings of lives before, they were led by a kindly spirit (which manifested itself in the form of a beautiful sea-shell rising from the water in the direction of the setting sun) to migrate from the shores of the great salt sea to the more pleasant land of the sweet-water seas.

On the western border of the peninsula originated and was waged the ancient feud between the Sioux and Chippewas, continuing through three centuries, as fierce and bitter as the border wars of Scotland or the War of the Roses. Their villages extended from far east of Lake Nipissing to the west end of Lake Superior and beyond. Their names, legends and traditions encircle these shores and the region abounds in their mythology.

That is Longfellow's land of the Ojibewas. In the realm of poetry, Hiawatha becomes one of Michigan's honored citizens. It was in Sault Ste. Marie that Bishop Baraga compiled his Otchipwa dictionary, from which it is said the poet obtained the Indian words scattered through his legends of Hiawatha. Those legends, taken largely from the folk lore tales and legends of the Chippewas were gathered and translated by Henry R. Schoolcraft when he was located in the Upper Peninsula as Indian agent, and were first published in his "Algic Researches." The Tahquemenon river is the rushing Taquamenaw of the poet, on which Hiawatha launched the bark-canoe which he had such a strenous time in building on its shore; and it was that river which Kwasind the strong man so energetically cleared "of its sunken logs and sand bars" so that Hiawatha could float down it "to the bay of Taquamenaw, to the waters of Pauwating," the Indian name for the Falls of St. Mary. It was on Lake Superior, "by the shores of Gitche Gumee, by the shining big sea water," that he stood to meet and welcome "the black-robe chief, the Prophet," and told him in language taken from an Indian speech preserved in the Jesuit Relations, how the lake was never so tranquil, and how the flavor of tobacco was never so sweet and pleasant as "When you come so far to see me."

Of the white explorers it has often been stated that religion was the grand inspiring motive which first gave those shores to the knowledge of our era. Unfortunately for the sentiment, that statement is but partially true. The zealous followers of Loyala were

but a close second to the explorers and traders who went before. Being men of learning and scholarly tastes the missionaries kept careful journals and made reports to their superiors. They wrote truthfully and entertainingly of the journeys they made, the people they visited, and the characteristics of the countries through which they passed. But the first to go were the hardy and adventurous fur-traders, half trader, half explorer, brave, reckless men, fearing no misery or peril, pushing westward in quest of new tribes with which to traffic, new countries to explore, searching ever for that mythical route to China, which they believed led that way. They were patient and daring, indomitable; risking everything, writing little or nothing; many of them, like the great men who lived before the time of Agamemnon, almost passing into oblivion because they had no Homer or Herodotus to immortalize their deeds. A few wrote something of their travels; others have scattered mention here and there in the Jesuit Relations and official reports from the colonies of New France. They reached the western lakes by the northern waterways, up the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, then by Lake Nipissing across to the French River and down it to Georgian Bay and thence west and north. Some of their names are well known, others are seldom heard.

As early as 1616, before the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers, an adventurious voyager named Etienne Brulé, one of Champlain's interpreters, returned to Quebec from the west after an absence of three years, and told of his journeyings to a great inland sea. He told of its size and location; gave a fabulous account of the deposits of mineral on its shores, and in confirmation produced an ingot of pure native copper he had found there. Some claim he was the first white man to see the western lakes, others that he did not get so far west but obtained his information and copper from tribes farther east.[1] He was followed by Jean Nicolet, who (having first been sent by Champlain to live with the Algonquin Indians in order to learn their language) later journeyed by the Lake Nipissing route to that country and described it so well on his return in 1635, that most writers feel safe in pronouncing him the first white, except possibly Brulé, to set foot in Michigan. He first landed in this state at the Falls of St. Mary, and finding his progress checked by them, turned back and went by Mackinac to Green Bay.

From that time on, Lake Superior, the St. Mary's River and its Falls, the Straits of Mackinac and the Upper Peninsula were suggested on the maps of New France. Champlain named the falls

[1]See "Brulé and the Discovery of the West," by C. W. Butterfield.

Saut du Gaston in honor of a brother of Louis XIII. For a long time after, however, we find, as a convenient limitation to their vague knowledge of what lay beyond, the chartographers cut off the western extension of Lake Superior by the margin of their maps. In 1641 Nicolet was followed by two missionaries who will be mentioned again.

In 1658, the year in which Oliver Cromwell died, Radisson and Groseillier, two French traders, brothers-in-law, were exploring the upper lake region. They made two voyages to the northwest for trade and discovery. On one of their voyages in 1661, Father Menard accompanied them, being the first missionary to pass the Falls and reach Lake Superior. He was an aged man and in crossing a Wisconsin portage wandered into the woods and was lost. Radisson wrote and spoke English. He kept a journal of his travels and adventures in that language. His manuscripts were not published until 1885. They some how fell into the hands of Samuel Pepys, of dairy fame, and later into the hands of London shop-keepers who were using them for waste paper when discovered by a collector named Rawlinson. The work is a most quaint, entertaining and simple narrative made more attractive by the peculiar spelling and odd, Chaucer English composition. His narrative enables us to trace him through the Georgian Bay, St. Mary's River, along the south shore of Lake Superior and to the Mississippi River. He describes the Pictured Rocks and asserts that he was the first Christian who ever saw them. He saw the Mississippi river eleven years before La Salle and fourteen years before Joliet and Marquette made their famous voyage down it.

Radisson states that they visited pleasantly with the "wild men of ye Falls who had their dwelling at ye coming in of a lake called Superior." He tells us that they built their boats and houses of the "Rind" of the trees. Some of his moral reflections are very curious. Speaking of their voyage on Lake Superior he says: "Many of our wild men went to win ye shortest way to their nation and there were three and twenty boats, for we met with some on that lake that joined with us and came to keep company in hope to get knives of us, which they love better than we serve God, which should make us blush for shame."

The first missionaries to visit the upper peninsula were Fathers Jogues and Raymbault, who landed at Sault Ste. Marie in 1641, coming from the missions at the east of Georgian Bay; Nicolet and perhaps Brulé preceded them. They wrote a full account of their voyage, gave the date of their visit, carefully describing the place and the people they met there, and made a map of the country

which, unfortunately, has not come down to us. Raymbault died shortly after his return. A brother priest, reporting his death to their superior at Paris, tells of their going to this distant spot and touchingly states that Father Raymbault had greatly hoped from there to find a way across the wilderness to China, "but God diverted his path to Heaven." Father Isaac Jogues, on his return was captured by the cruel Iroquois, who scoffed at his attempts to teach them; made him a slave, traded and scourged him from village to village, subjected him to indignities and tortures, cut off his fingers and frightfully mutilated him in other ways. While in the hands of his savage masters, treated worse than their Indian dogs, in cold, hunger and loneliness and constant expectation of death, with no other opportunity to perform the missions to which he had devoted his life, as a last resort and solace to his misery he took possession of the country through which he wandered in the name of his Master by secretly carving the name of Jesus on the trees. He was finally purchased from the Iroquois by the Dutch of New York and restored to his people.[1]

In 1665 Allouez founded the first Mission, on the shores of Lake Superior, and in 1668 Father Marquette and Dablon established a mission at the Falls of St. Mary, built the first house, erected the first church, cleared and planted the first land and founded the first white settlement in what is now the State of Michigan. Two years later Marquette founded a mission at St. Ignace. It was from there he started on his famous voyage with Joliet to explore the Father of Waters and it was beneath the altar of the little chapel he built there that his savage followers and brother priests laid his weary bones to rest.

Mackinaw and Sault Ste. Marie, lying at the east and south side of the upper peninsula, on the narrow waters connecting the great lakes, were known for nearly two centuries as the only gateways to the north and west beyond. They were the most important points in the whole north-west. They were long believed to open the shortest route to China, the land of Prester John, which was supposed to lie not far away and which the early travellers were ever striving to reach. The places have been from time to time prominent in American history, commanding as they did the passage ways and commerce of the Great Lakes. In early days savage tribes fought each other for their control and civilized nations contended for the supremacy.

While Father Marquette was planting his colony and erecting his

[1]Subsequently he was retaken and tortured to death by the Iroquois.

chapel at St. Ignace he resided at Mackinac Island. In 1671 he wrote of it as follows: "Missilimackinac is an island famous in these regions, is more than a league in diameter and elevated in some places by such high cliffs as to be seen more than twelve leagues off. It is situated in the strait forming the communication between Lakes Huron and Illinois (Michigan). It is the key and, as it were, the gateway for all tribes from the south, as the Sault is for those of the north, there being in this section of the country only those two passages by water, for a great number of nations have to go by one or the other to reach the French settlements."

The flags of three civilized nations have floated over the peninsula as symbols of occupation and national authority. It has been truly said that the history of this nation exhibits three distinct and strongly marked epochs. The first may be denominated the Romantic Period, though that term would in a degree apply to each. It would extend through the French rule from the advent of whites till the end of the French and Indian War. It was the period of exploration and discovery, when the zealous missionaries and hardy fur traders first voyaged to the great center of the Indian tribes on the far-off shores of the northwestern lakes, when the cross was first planted there, and the boat song of the voyageurs first awakened the echoes of those shores and forests. In that period we find such well known characters as Marquette, La Salle, Joliet, Nicolet, Hennepin, Tonty, Duluth, Perrot, Allouez, Cadillac, Jogues, Raymbault, Dablon, Repentigny and many others, landing on and exploring the shores of the upper peninsula. I might call attention to the fact that Joliet left in the Sault a copy of his journal kept during his celebrated voyage of discovery with Marquette down the Mississippi. He made two copies and, on his way back, took the precaution to go up to the Sault and leave one with the Fathers there, that a record might be preserved should anything befall him while returning to Quebec. His fears were well founded. When near home, while descending the Lachine Rapids in the St. Lawrence, his canoe was capsized. He barely escaped drowning, and everything, including his copy of the journal, was lost. Unfortunately the copy left with the missionaries has never come to light.

The second epoch was that of the British occupation, beginning at the close of the French and Indian war, when Rogers, the famous Ranger, led the British soldiers into Michigan, when garrisons of British troops were sent to Green Bay, Detroit, Mackinac and other points on the great lakes. It was a period more military and warlike. It included the Pontiac War, and ran down through the

successive struggles of Indian, British and American for dominion, including the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. It was the period for licensed fur traders under military supervision, and of the great fur companies. Many men of ability and prominence operated along the peninsula in those days. Rogers, the Ranger, like Julius Caesar, was not only a fighter but a writer. He commanded at Mackinac for several years and fell into difficulties because of the lavishness with which he lived and bestowed the government funds on the neighboring tribes. He wrote three works entitled "Rogers' Journal," "A concise account of North America," and a tragedy called "Pontiac." Col. De Peyster, the author of "DePeyster's Miscellanies," was in command at Mackinac for a time. He was a New Yorker by birth, but was trained in the British army and on his retirement went to Scotland and was for a time in command of a military organization of which Burns was a member; and the poet immortalized him in one of his great poems. Dr. Jonathan Carver, the famous author of "Carver's Travels," was a visitor and pioneer of the peninsula. He liked it so well that he bought it, obtaining a deed for it, along with what are now several western States, from the chiefs of the various nations he visited. The deed, although obtained before the Revolutionary War, by no authority of any government and for a few trinkets, has been urged several times before Congress by Carver's heirs, as a claim for indemnity. It has been recorded in some of the counties of the Upper Peninsula and is an interesting document.

The first licensed trader upon Lake Superior under English rule was Alexander Henry, who was one of the few survivors of the bloody massacre at old Fort Mackinac in 1763. He wrote a most graphic and thrilling account of the massacre which has been often copied and quoted in more recent publications. On obtaining his license he first located at Sault Ste. Marie and went into partnership with one Cadotte, who had remained there in occupation of the old Repentigny fort, after the lord of the seignory left to fight for his king against the British in that war which lost Canada to France. Henry was a man of great energy, robust courage, ability and business enterprise. He organized a company and worked the copper mines of Ontonagon 125 years ago. The company was chartered in England as "A Company of Adventurers to work the copper mines of Lake Superior." They imported miners, built a sloop of forty tons at Point aux Pins to carry their men and supplies to the mines and did considerable work opening a mine; but the venture proved disastrous. Henry, however, was more successful in the fur trade, and is said to have amassed a fortune. The trade in

those days was large. Henry tells that on a certain trip on the north shore in three days' trading he procured 12,000 beaver skins, besides many otter and marten. He wrote a book entitled "Henry's Travels," full of descriptions of that country and his adventures there. It is a plain, graphic and manifestly truthful narrative; written in excelent taste and fascinating in its details. In an important suit involving an historical question, it was cited and approved as an authority in the Supreme Court of the United States.

The individual traders were soon supplanted by the great fur companies acting under royal charters,—the North-west Fur Company, the X. Y. Company, the Hudson Bay Company and others. Their organizations were thorough, far-reaching and powerful. Their head men were lords of the lakes, with a large retinue of employes, ruling with a strong hand and living in semi-baronial style at Grand Portage, Mackinac, Sault Ste. Marie and other points of rendezvous.

These passed away with the coming of the third epoch, the event of American control and influence. The American Fur Company, organized by John Jacob Astor, took their place with headquarters at Mackinac, and, with the hardy Vermonters whom he put in charge, an extensive and profitable business was done for many years, laying the foundation of the great Astor fortunes of to-day.

The third epoch is the period of enterprise, of work, of commercial development and American activity. The attention of capital was called to the immense deposits of iron and copper to be found on the peninsula. Such eminent scientists as Dr. Houghton, Schoolcraft, Foster and Whitney, Whittlesey and Agassiz made their nature and value known to the world and a tide of fortune-seekers set that way. Between 1845 and 1860 no fewer than 116 copper mining companies were formed and in operation and the activity in copper stocks was as great then as to-day. Ontonagon, Houghton, Rockland, Hancock, Calumet and other cities grew up as the result of these mining enterprises.

In 1846 came the exploiting of the iron mines, bringing Marquette, Ishpeming, Iron Mountain, Bessemer, Ironwood and other iron cities into existence, followed by the completion of the Sault canal in 1855 and the opening of Lake Superior to the world.

In passing we must pause to pay tribute to one body of men, developed by the pecularities of the fur trade and water transportation of the early days, who were the true pioneers of the commerce and settlement of that region. They have continued through all three of the epochs mentioned, almost to the present day, as a distinct class. They were with the first to come; they were the

first to build homes, raise families and permanently settle there. I refer to the voyageurs, of the traders and merchants, the enlisted men and canoemen. Their history is one of patient toil, hardship and danger cheerfully borne. They brought all the supplies to the country in frail canoes along the entire chain of lakes to the head of Lake Superior and beyond. They carried over the tedious portages, built the trading posts, gathered and packed the furs. Largely French or half-breeds they were the heroes of the paddle and the portage, dwelling in the open air, sleeping under the stars, braving the storms and heat and cold, at home in the wilderness where night found them; cheerful, hardy, patient, given to music, keeping time with the stroke of the paddle as they sang their boat songs. A party of them has performed the incredible feat of crossing, in a single season, from the mouth of the Columbia to Sault Ste. Marie and returning. They and their avocation are gone from those shores, but their descendants are numerous there today and their fellows are yet paddling and portaging in the service of the great Hudson Bay Company, along the distant waterways of British America to our north; a lively, polite, jocular race, full of song and story of wild adventure, their history of romantic daring and hardship has a peculiar fascination. Their hopes and ambitions and bent of thought can best be portrayed in the statement of an aged voyageur, long past the three score and ten, who is spending his last days in his log cabin with his half-breed wife on the river bank, once said: "I was a good man; I could carry over the portage, paddle, track, walk and sing with any man I ever saw. I was 41 years in the service, and paddled many voyages from Montreal to the Red River and return; no portage was ever too long for me and no pack ever too large. Fifty songs could I sing; I have saved the lives of ten voyageurs; I have had twelve wives and six running dogs. I spent all my money in pleasure. I am old and poor now; were I young again I would spend my life the same way over; there is no life so happy as a voyageur's life."

For this brief sketch no originality is claimed. It is but a fragmentary compilation of a little from the much which might be told; and now, in conclusion, as a matter of local coloring for the Upper Peninsula as well as general historical interest, let me tell of the first uplifting of the faith and authority of a civilized nation in the presence of the ancient races of America in the heart of our continent.

In 1670 the greed of imperialism and expansion had grown up in the minds of Louis XIV. and his ministers. They proposed to spread the power and faith of France to the utmost confines of the

new world, wherever they might be, and they themselves did not know. To that end trusty emissaries were sent through the west to invite a grand council of all known tribes to convene at Sault Ste. Marie, selected as the best known and most convenient spot. Nicolas Perrot, the famous traveler and trader whose book of adventure, including a full account of this event, lay unpublished in the archives of France for 200 years, was sent to the nations of the south and west. The invitation reached the tribes of Lake Superior and was passed to the wandering hordes beyond.

St. Lusson, a French officer of ability and renown, was delegated to represent the crown and journeyed to the Sault with a retinue of soldiers to properly impress the natives and to take possession of the country in the name of his king.

This so-called Congress of Nations assembled in council at that place just 228 years ago on the 14th of June next.

There were gathered together the brilliantly clad officers and soldiers of the veteran armies of France, the pale-faced delegates of the church with the classic breath of the cloister yet clinging to their robes, the hardy explorers and zealous weather-bronzed missionaries who had come before, the traders and their retinues of half-wild voyageurs, all mingling with the throng of envoys from the wild republics of the wilderness. The gathered assembly was led to a rise of ground adjacent to the Rapids, supposed to have been located where the hedge now passes west of the fountain at the canal park.

A large cedar cross was planted on the top of the hill and blessed with all the ceremonies of the church. A cedar column was set beside it upon which was fastened the shield of France, marked with the lilies of the Bourbons, and beneath, on parchment, a procès-verbal declaratory of soverignty. Stepping forward with drawn sword, St. Lusson lifted a sod of earth aloft three times and in a loud voice to which the assembly made proper response by cries "Long live the King," he proclaimed "In the name of the Most High, Most Mighty and Most Redoubtable Monarch Louis XIV, of the name, most Christian King of France and Navarre, we take possession of said place of St. Mary's of the Falls, as well as Lakes Huron, Superior, the Manitoulin Islands, and of all other countries, rivers, likes and tributaries contiguous, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the northern and western seas and on the other side by the south sea, including all its length and breadth," after which there was not much left of North America for the rest.

Hymns were then chanted, songs sung, speeches made and feasting had, amidst great manifestations of joy and good will.

Father Allouez, the pioneer missionary of Lake Superior, was present and made a rousing speech, which has been preserved, in which he strangely mingles the greatness of the King of Kings and the King of France.

One hundred eighty-one years later, when the hustling, keen-eyed Yankee contractors came from the East to construct the great ship canal around the St. Mary's Falls, they found in the line of their proposed operations a sandy knoll. Over it were scattered Indian graves and on its crest stood, leaning, a large cedar cross, old, moss-grown and crumbling to decay. No living person could tell the date or circumstance of its erection. It was the local Indian tradition that it had been renewed and maintained, through passing generations, on the very spot where the first whites who came amongst them planted it. But business was business then and the contractors made short work of the Indian graves, the old cross and the hill it stood upon, and the locks of the great St. Mary's Falls Ship Canal now mark the spot.

# SAGINAW COUNTY AS A CENTER OF ABORIGINAL POPULATION

BY FRED DUSTIN.

# SAGINAW COUNTY AS A CENTER OF ABORIGINAL POPULATION.[1]

BY FRED DUSTIN.[2]

THE philosopher and the scientist are continually dealing with the phenomena of cause and effect and any proposition that is at all obscure must be susceptible of proof, not only by demonstrated facts but by definite probabilities based on other series of facts easily proved. If, therefore, we make the statement that Saginaw County was a center of aboriginal population, probably the greatest in Michigan, more proof will be required than the mere statement that many relics of former occupancy have been discovered there.

In what are now desert wastes of the Old World are to be found the monuments and ruins of ancient cities indicative of large population and wealth, which are now as silent as the tomb. Great physical changes have taken place, their sites have become uninhabitable and their lands are desolate.

In the New World we find the remains of ancient peoples. In some countries, as Mexico, Yucatan or Peru, we find structures of stone of fair design and considerable magnitude. In the Mississippi Valley are found great earthworks and mounds, acres in extent, which have been the cause of much speculation and study. On the Atlantic seaboard and in the drainage area of the Great Lakes are found still other monuments of aboriginal art, by no means equal in magnitude to those of the former districts but surely as pregnant with meaning and as deserving of study.

[1]This paper was read at the annual meeting in June, 1913.

[2]Fred Dustin, a building contractor of Saginaw, was born October 12, 1866, at Glen's Falls, N. Y. His father was James O'Donnell, whose great grandfather came from Ireland after the Revolutionary War. The mother of James O'Donnell was a niece of Gen. Philip Schuyler of New York. Mr. Dustin's mother, Jennie E. Greene, died when her son was a few months old and he lived with a maternal aunt, Mrs. Sarah D. Dustin, who married a descendent of Hannah Dustin. In this way he became known as "Fred Dustin." Mr. Dustin was educated in the public schools of Gloversville, N. Y. He came to Michigan when he was twenty years of age, and worked as a foreman in lumber yards. The Legislature by special act changed his name, Frederick G. O'Donnell, to Fred Dustin.

Mr. Dustin became interested in historical research and spent over fifteen years gathering material and data for a history of Terry's Indian Campaign in 1876. The result, copy for a 12 mo. volume of some 450 pages, is now in the hands of a western historical society. One of its interesting features is a description of the battle of the Little Big Horn in which General Custer was killed. Mr. Dustin has gathered considerable data concerning the aborigines of Saginaw county. Weapons, implements and utensils have been gathered, probably two thousand in all. During the last five years, many articles of his relating to these interesting discoveries have been published in the Saginaw Courier-Herald. Mr. Dustin has also done some work for the Bureau of American Ethnology. He is a member of the "Brothers of the Book," a society of book-lovers limited in number. He is also active in various Masonic organizations.

Although the Indian no longer encamps upon our streams in primitive simplicity, the physical changes in the valley of the Saginaw River are so slight that we not only are able to identify the numerous surface remains, but to point out our reasons for believing that here was a center of population before the white man arrived.

For twenty years the writer has taken an especial interest in the history of the Indian, in his relations to European and American; for fifteen years in North American Ethnology, and for the past five years in the archeology of the Saginaw Valley, especially of Saginaw County. Every opportunity that gave him a day in the field was in the nature of a happy holiday, a joyful recreation, so that if not well equipped in education, training, or wealth, he has at least one qualification, an abiding enthusiasm, which sweetens the bread of daily toil and makes life worth living.

A study of the map of Michigan at once discloses that Saginaw County is almost at the geographical center of the Lower Peninsula, the principal meridian forming its western boundary, while the first correction line passes through its center. We also find it substantially at the head of Saginaw Bay, an arm of Lake Huron, projecting into the state fifty miles in a south-west direction.

If we consider the County as the center of a drainage area, we find that according to the United States geological survey, it is the largest in Michigan, having an area of 6,260 square miles.

If it is studied from the geological standpoint, we again find that it is the center of a most interesting geological district of circular dimensions, the boundaries of which touch Grand Rapids, Alpena, and Adrian approximately.

If it be considered in respect to primitive navigation, we observe that a network of streams uniting near its center form an estuary of Saginaw Bay some twenty miles in length, the Saginaw River, thus making the county a natural center of early travel.

Again, if the region be regarded topographically, we find thousands of acres of marsh land, prairie land, vast wooded areas, sand ridges and rich bottom lands. These are low and level to the east and south, but they rise to low hills in the west and north, until at the summit of the divide at Harrison[3] on the Pere Marquette Railroad, it is 1,159 feet above sea level. At Lake[3] on the same railroad, 1,071 feet above sea level is reached. Saginaw and Bay City are approximately 590 feet above sea level. This is about ten feet above the mean level of Lake Huron. It will be observed that there are no obstructions to canoe navigation, other than those formed by man,

[3]In Clare county.

or the incidental gathering of rafts of floodwood; no impassible rapids or falls.

If the region be considered in relation to its food supply we note that it was teeming with animal life, its streams swarming with fish, and the marshes of the Saginaw rich in wild rice, then an important food product. Nuts and wild fruits were to be had in abundance, while the maple trees yielded generously of their sap for sugar and suitable corn land was widely available. The forests furnished the birch, for canoes and wigwams and to secure the flint for arrow-points, spears or knives, the aboriginies had but to paddle to the vicinity of Bay Port to find plenty. Material for axe, chisel or tomahawk was abundant on the gravelly bluffs of the Flint, the Cass and the Shiawassee rivers.

Having thus laid the foundation for a more extended discussion let us proceed to a study of the aboriginal remains in direct support of our proposition. In an article prepared for the Bureau of Ethnology, the writer has gone somewhat extensively into the subject of aboriginal remains, limited however to Saginaw County. In this paper there will necessarily be some duplication of that work.

Were we to enter a strange city, we would gain an idea of its population by its size. Were it merely the ruins of a city, we could still approximately estimate its population by the number of its habitations. In the case of primitive man, however, it is different, for he was to a degree migratory. Of the American Indian this was, perhaps, but slightly true and the term "wandering savages" would seem to apply to only a small percentage of them. The natives of Michigan were principally of the great Algonquian stock, dwellers in the forest, skilled in wood-craft and in primitive navigation. It is true that they made remarkably long journeys on their warlike expeditions, yet we find them returning to the graves of their fathers to again inhabit the familiar spot and perchance lay their bones beside those of their ancestors.

There are many accounts which relate that these red men even carried back to their homes the disjointed skeletons of friends slain in battle or those who died from disease or casualty far from the home camp-fire. There is nothing to show that the early inhabitants of this Valley were not as much bound by the ties of home that appeal so strongly to us, as we, their successors are.

The archaelogy of the Saginaw Valley is still almost undeveloped, for with the exception of the work of that most capable gentleman, Harlan I. Smith and of brief accounts in the Michigan Pioneer

and Historical Collections[4], we can find but little of value. Should this paper reach by chance the eye of some competent scientist in this line, he may be assured of a rich harvest in this valley.

On page 4 of "The Saginaw Valley Collection," prepared by Mr. Smith, is an archaelogical map of Michigan in which we find depicted, in the Saginaw Valley, numerous mounds and other antiquities. Were those village sites which are known to myself added to the ancient remains noted, that portion of the map illustrating Saginaw County would be such a confused jumble of marks that it would be utterly unintelligible. There are over sixty camp and village sites known to me, from about forty of which I have obtained relics by personal search. There is little doubt in my mind that the number in this county exceeds a hundred. In the locality now occupied by the city of Saginaw we find remains so numerous as to give the idea that an immense village was once located here. A large portion of the city is located on low ridges. In early days these ridges were sometimes separated by bayous which are now filled in. There is not one of these ridges by has yielded its quota of relics; not one but has its graves or mounds. This leads the investigator to believe that Saginaw was the site of many Indian dwellings. As an example, the ridge running south from the City Hall to the Pere Marquette belt line was a continuous village, and there is little doubt but the same was true of that portion of the city from Bristol Street south to Saginaw Street.

The geoogical map of Michigan shows a terminal series of moraines sweeping down from the north and west, disappearing near the mouth of the Tittabawassee River and again reappearing on the Cass river, four or five miles above. These relics of the Ice Age are of yellow sand, in some cases rising to ten, fifteen, or even twenty feet above the surrounding levels. They are particularly numerous in Thomas Town and I have yet to examine one that does not show some evidence of early inhabitants. Near the glass factory, in Saginaw, is a notable moraine from which have been gathered numbers of implements and weapons. When first visited by the earliest settlers these sand hills were covered with pine trees. On most of them the stumps still remain, as the soil is often too

[4]For additional articles in the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections concerning the Indian Mounds and Mound Builders and the remains of the aboriginies in Michigan see the following: "Ancient Garden Beds" by Bela Hubbard, pp. 21-35, vol. 2; "The Mound Builders in Michigan," by Henry Gillman, pp. 41-52, vol. 2; "The Mound Builders and their Work in Michigan," by Henry H. Riley, pp. 41-48, vol. 3; "Rabbit River Mounds and Circles," by H. D. Post, pp. 296-298, vol. 3; "Mounds and Mound Builders of the Saginaw Valley," by W. R. McCormick, pp. 379-393, vol. 4; extracts from an article by Benjamin F. H. Witherell, pp. 4-6, vol. 5; a portion of an article by Charles Moore entitled "The Ontonagon Boulder," pp. 265-6, vol. 27; "Evidences of Prehistoric Man on Lake Superior," pp. 110-118, vol. 30; "The Antiquities of Michigan," by Harlan I Smith, pp. 238-252, vol. 31; and "French and Indian Footprints at Three Rivers on the St. Joseph," by Blanche M. Haines, M. D., pp. 286-297, vol. 38.

poor to requite the husbandman for the labor of tilling it. However, they furnish a rich field for the collector. Further along the shore of the Tittabawassee river are the Andrews' workshops. Here is a morainal ridge where many relics have been secured. Certain favorable circumstances have rendered it a bonanza to the collectors. In an excavation where the wind has blown away the sand under a building, finds were made many years ago. Near this point was an old Indian ford, over which passed the trail terminating near another high sand bluff on the river bank. On this hill was a great mound, which was discovered to be literally filled with human bones. According to an Indian legend, at this site there occurred a desperate battle between the Sauks and Chippewas and that the slain were deposited here. Here, also, we find abundant evidence of a large village. At least three caches of large blades have been found at this point. For three miles down the river the extent of these village remains is astonishing.

It must not be understood by this that relics can still be picked up by the handful. In early days this could be done. Those that now remain are mostly flint chips, potsherds, firebeds, (usually scattered by the plow) with occasionally some good specimen of the arrow-maker's art.

Taking up the trail westward from the location of the large mound we may follow this low ridge as it gradually rises and again descends to Swan Creek. A branch of the trail passes down that stream but the main path leads westward across the creek and follows the ridge. This long moraine rests upon level alluvial lands, rich in accumulated humus. On this ridge have been found some of the finest stone and flint implements I have ever seen, while in the sheltering angles on the flats there are extensive evidences of villages and camps.

If we should follow this trail far enough, it would lead us to Detroit, along the Shiawassee River through Owosso and Corruna. At St. Charles and Chesaning are found extensive remains. On both North and South branches of the Bad River, and on Beaver and Potato Creeks, tributaries of the Bad River, are scattered the relics of the aborigines. Perhaps here the great Pontiac left traces of his early life. The Indians hereabouts claim that Pontiac was born at Oakley. This is possible, for I have never been able to find a positive statement as to the location of his birthplace. Parkman tells us that he was probably born in Ohio but does not base it upon any known facts, simply on the probabilities of the case. Returning to the Tittabawassee River and Swan Creek, we find on the latter stream a continuous series of remains from near the Midland county

line to where it is almost lost in the Shiawassee Prairie. On the Tittabawassee, village after village can be traced as far as Midland, in Midland county. There are located the "Little Forks," as they were called in the early day, for there the Pine and Chippewa Rivers empty. On these streams again we find, far up in Isabella and Gratiot counties, some evidences of a relatively numerous Indian population.

Following the main river to Sanford, where the Salt river enters, again are found the unmistakable signs of the object of our quest. If we pass up the small tributary and examine its banks, evidence will pile on evidence. Further to the north, the Cedar and the Tobacco rivers unite to pour the waters of their springs into those of the larger stream, and a mile north of Clare, in the most unexpected place, I have found flints, showing that even here the red man made his camps and hunted the deer. I have been informed that the same is true of Beaverton and Gladwin, on the Cedar River.

If we trace the Tittabawassee to its source in the springs of Ogemaw, we still find that the Indian preceded us and that his campfire blazed on the spots where are now the villages and farms of the white man.

It must be borne in mind that the upper courses of these rivers were in pine lands largely. Although game was plentiful there, yet the things dear to the Indian heart were to be found in greatest abundance only on the lower courses of the waterways. As the divide was approached, the rich soil disappeared, the land rose in swell after swell of sand moraine and the native Indian looked with longing eye toward Saginaw, which he called Kah-Bay-Shay-Way-Ning, Home!

Returning to Saginaw, we may take our course up the Cass River and find many villages, the remains beginning almost at the mouth of the river. At Bridgeport the evidence accumulates. On one farm alone the owner has gathered, one by one, probably a thousand flints and celts. At the village site was formerly a large mound which was the last resting place of numerous red men and further up the stream we find locations where implements, weapons and potsherds testify to a former occupancy. At Cook's Corners, Frankenmuth, Vassar, Caro, Cass City and numerous other points are to be found many evidences of aboriginal population.

Turning now to the Flint River, we again discover that on its banks from its mouth to its sources there was a series of village and camp sites, many of them notable in extent. Among them may be mentioned Pe-On-I-Go-Wing (Taymouth), Flushing and Flint.

Returning to the main river, the Saginaw, we are informed that

at Bay City there was a great village. Here a legendary battle was fought between the Saug-e or Sauks and the Chippewas and their allies. This conflict culminated at Skull Island. There is still living in Saginaw a well-known citizen who in his youth had plenty of ocular proof of the battle, for skulls and bones were numerous on the island at that late day. He informs me that he saw probably a hundred and fifty skulls at this point. That the sandy bluffs on the west side of the river were favorite resorts of the savages was well known to early settlers and the remains on all sides are evidence of a numerous population.

However, the early estimates of Indian population frequently had little basis except in the imagination of men and even those who attempted an accurate survey found that it was impossible to do more than make a rough approximation of numbers. Until annuities were granted under treaties, the population of any one tribe was mere guess work.

In 1819 Cass made his famous treaty with the Chippewas at Saginaw. The reservations then made by the Indians plainly indicate that Saginaw County was a great center of Indian population, for we find that out of sixteen reservations, six were in Saginaw County, four in Bay and one each in Midland and Shiawassee. Of the remaining four, three were on Saginaw Bay and contiguous to the Saginaw River. At this treaty an immense territory, probably over a fourth of the Lower Peninsula, was ceded to the whites, all of which was considered as tributary to the Saginaw County.

It will therefore be seen that on account of its natural resources Saginaw County was the logical center of an aboriginal population that was relatively large. There are men still living who have seen from 2,500 to 4,000 Indians gathered at Saginaw to receive their annuities. When we remember that the entire Chippewa tribe probably numbered not to exceed 30,000 souls and that its range extended from Michigan, on both sides of Lakes Huron and Superior and as far west as North Dakota, a territory of probably twenty times the area of the Saginaw drainage, we may well consider that our local territory was well settled.

The writer, after having briefly reviewed the general conditions relating to the aborigines has reached the conclusion that Saginaw County was a center of population and travel, a sort of Indian Mecca, to which the tribes made their pilgrimages and where they performed their ceremonies and held their great feasts.

On the advent of the whites to this region of the Saginaw they found it occupied almost solely by the Chippewa. Legend and

tradition informs us that the predecessors of this tribe were Sauks, who were driven out by a federation of several tribes of the Algonquian stock, in which the Chippewa (sometimes called Ojibway), took the leading part and appropriated the lands of their vanquished foes. Although a large and warlike tribe, their relations with the whites were almost uniformly friendly, especially with the French. That they furnished Pontiac with a contingent of formidable warriors and were probably the chief actors in the bloody drama of Michilimacinac is probably true. The fact that they took no prominent part in the wars with the English was due to their remote situation and not to any lack of warlike qualities.

Our fathers had two methods of securing the Indian lands: by force and by treaty. That they gained possession of the Saginaw Valley without bloodshed was due to their shrewdness and was not a reflection on the courage or vigor of the Indians.

The Chippewas were essentially dwellers in the woods. We find, therefore, that they represent a medium primitive culture. Their waterways furnish means of communication that developed the simple arts of navigation as practiced by them to a perfection not often attained by primitive people. Their birch bark canoes were models of grace, elegance and speed. On the other hand, living in the shelter of the timber, their dwellings were miserable structures. Often during the winter famines brought about by their own improvidence their limbs stiffened under the intense cold of the icy blast, until at last no hand could be raised in the wigwam to drive away the hungry wolf, whose howl was the only requiem of warrior, woman and child.

In basketry and pottery they had attained a fair degree of skill and in the stone arts they were proficient. Their religion was a curious combination of deism and pantheism, that is, a worship of a good God together with a spiritualizing of animate and inanimate nature. Thus a rock was presumed to be gifted with certain attributes and so was a deer or a trout. In short, the Chippewa lived so near to nature that he had a most remarkable conception and perception of Nature's God, which we, in our curious conceit, are pleased to term superstition.

They had one great esoteric society, the Mid-e-wi-win or Grand Medicine Society, and they had a clan system which has not yet been thoroughly investigated.

This article would hardly be complete without some definite reference to specific relics and remains but what I have to say will be based entirely upon my small collection and my own field notes,

leaving to the scholar the general and scientific discussion of these matters.

In my collection, gathered on many fields, are examples of nearly all types of flint implements belonging to this section of the United States. Among them are the various classes of leaf-shaped blades, triangular blades and stemmed blades, as well as raw material in every process of manufacture from the chert nodule up. As examples of leaf-shaped blades, I have one four and one-half inches long by two and a half inches wide and another of whitish chalcedony two by three and a half inches. A fine little specimen of the triangular type was picked up on Mound Hill, in Saginaw and was the first arrow-point found by me. This was the beginning of my collection. Not many of this type have been found in this locality but I have several specimens. The most common of all are the stemmed pattern, both barbed and barbless—that is, shouldered. One of these, two inches by four, while not symmetrical, is, however, a good specimen of the type and was collected from a city lot owned by me. The collection also contains flint knives, perforators or drills and scrapers. The material varies from a delicate pink chalcedony to a coarse chert (flint). One peculiar shaped point is dark blue, a few are seal brown but most of them are the characteristic stone gray.

Of celts I have several hammer stones, some fine chisels and skinning stones, a peculiar tomahawk and a heavy grooved maul or hammer.

Of problematical forms we have several: One, a shuttle-shaped tablet or charm of pale green slate perforated with two holes; another of mottled purple slate of the same form but much larger and broken,—a so-called bird or effigy stone, having the form of a dog, but probably representing some other animal. It is made of banded slate. There is, also, a large rubbing stone fashioned from sandstone.

Of pottery, I have not a single whole specimen or even a large fragment but there are about six or eight quarts of pieces representing perhaps fifty vessels, of a great variety of ornamentation. I have, also, the stems and bowls of several pottery pipes (clay).

Much might be said as to the various mounds we have observed but it is not now necessary to further dwell upon this interesting subject.

We have briefly reviewed the general conditions relating to the aborigines, and our conclusions are that Saginaw County was a center of population and travel, a sort of Indian Mecca to which the

tribes made their pilgrimiges, and where they performed their ceremonies and held their great feasts.

As we read the pages of the past, we are more and more impressed with its mysteries, amazed at its wonders, and exalted by its sublime lessons. The fascination that pertains to original investigation is enhanced by the knowledge that we are producing something, that we are adding our mite to the sum total of human effort, and making available those facts that later shine forth from the pages of a Parkman, a Fiske or a Bancroft, for the monumental works they have produced are but the mosaics of countless individuals, assorted, culled and cemented together with the rare skill of their master hands. We who are gathering and preserving these historical materials, each in his particular line, are perhaps rendering a service that will be more appreciated long after we have returned to dust and mingled our ashes with the Red Man who has gone before us, than in the present day.

We read in the pages of Holy Writ of the beauties and magnificence of King Solomon's Temple, a structure visible to the human eye, and appreciable by the human senses, but how its glories fade when compared with the marvelous conception of John of the Celestial City! So in like manner the wonders of our present civilization are dimmed when we turn to the study of Man himself, and attempt to trace his course along the River of Time, and study his development from the cave-dweller or even more remote ancestors, for we find that our modern empires, kingdoms, and states have been erected on the ruins of other empires and civilizations, the magnificence of which fills us with awe and wonder.

If the mystery of Babylon has stirred our hearts with desire to learn its secret, how much greater even is the mystery of that strange race, the Red Man! Here on our fields are strewed his remains: here are the low mounds marking his last resting place; here we gather the stone hatchet, the pipe and the flint arrowhead.

Let us see to it that every relic, every scrap of history and every legend and tradition is preserved and nothing lost, so that the future historian or ethnologist will find a rich harvest and posterity thereby profit.

# COMMEMORATION OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

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THE PERRY VICTORY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION,

BY GEORGE WHITFIELD PARKER.

LEWIS CASS, MICHIGAN'S HERO OF THE WAR OF 1812,

AN ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

AMERICAN PEACE CENTENARY,

AN ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS.

MARKING FORT SAINT JOSEPH,

BY RENA P. GILLAM.

ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BOULDER MARKING THE SITE OF FORT ST. JOSEPH.

BY JUDGE ORVILLE W. COOLIDGE.

THE GENERAL CUSTER STATUE,

BY ELIZABETH BACON CUSTER.

# THE PERRY VICTORY CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

BY GEORGE WHITFIELD PARKER.

IT is not my purpose to dwell upon the history of that famous battle on Lake Erie, September 10th, 1813, so notably won by Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and his fleet, but briefly to say that the results of that victory represent the mastery of the Great Lakes, the recovery of Detroit and the West and the capture of the British army in the upper peninsula of Canada. The celebration of the centennial of Perry's victory, on September 10 and 11, 1913, came as a fitting climax to the celebration of one hundred years of peace between the two great English-speaking nations of the world.

The question may well be asked "What has been done toward perpetuating the memory of Commodores Perry and Barclay, as well as the English and American officers and crews who lost their lives at that time?"

Those of you who have been fortunate enough to spend a day at Put-in-bay, especially a summer day, will no doubt recall, as you got off the boat, a grove of trees, and as you walked along to the extreme easterly end, coming to a simple concrete square monument, surmounted by a few cannon balls, the whole surrounded by posts and chains, capped with English and American flags.

Doubtless it is known to few, that this little monument was erected from the proceeds of an amateur theatrical entertainment given some years ago, and up until last summer maintained by the good people of Put-in-Bay, and that under it rested the remains of the British and American officers and sailors.

Go where you may, I venture to say from Chicago on the west, Duluth on the north-west, or to Buffalo, N. Y., and Erie, Pa., on the east, stopping if you will at Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac Island, Port Huron, Detroit or Toledo, you will find that no tribute of any magnitude has been erected to the lives that were sacrificed at that time.

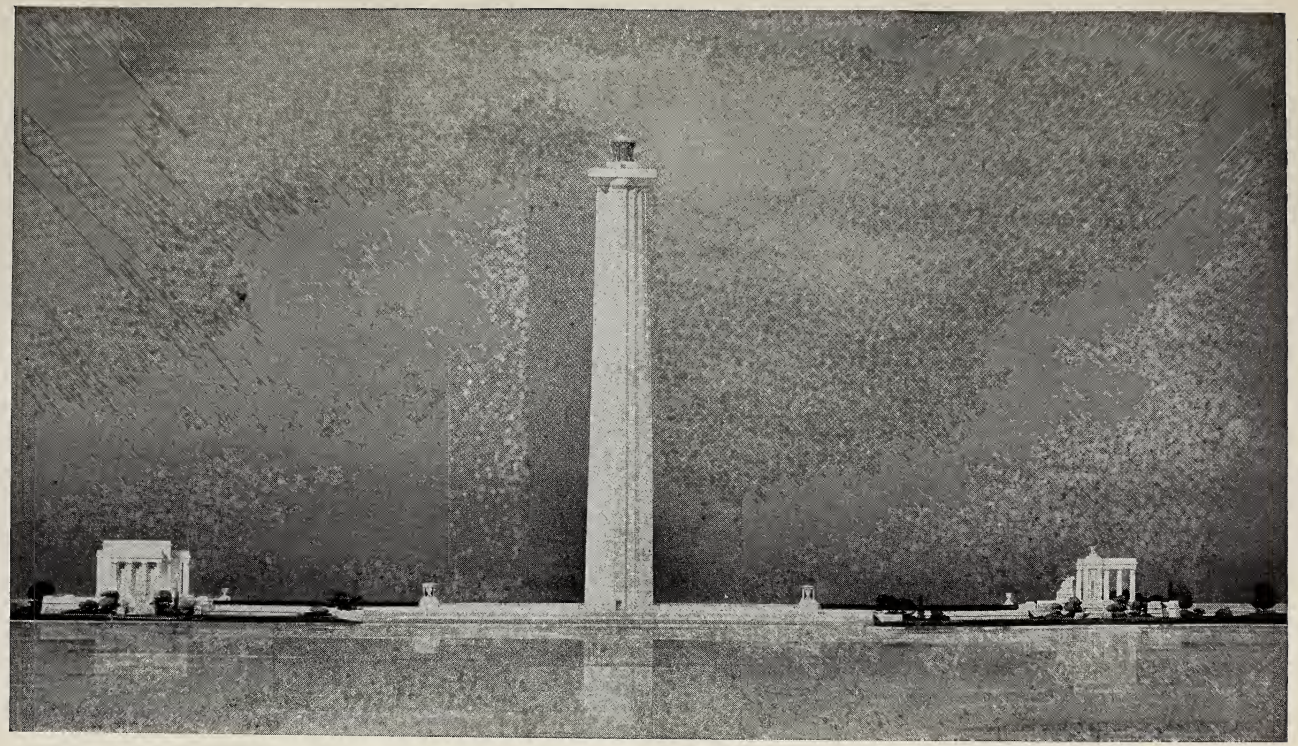
To the State of Ohio belongs the credit of starting this movement in the year 1909, and from it invitations were accepted by the States of Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, New York, Rhode Island, Kentucky and Minnesota. The Act creating

the Michigan Commission is No. 233 of the Public Acts of Year 1909, approved on June 8th of that year, about which time Messrs. Charles Moore, Seward L. Merriman and Albert L. Stephens of Detroit, E. K. Warren of Three Oaks and Roy S. Barnhart of Grand Rapids, were appointed members of that Commission. Two vacancies occurred not very long after, one being filled by myself, and the other by Hon. John C. Lodge of Detroit, the last appointment being made by our present Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris.

During the year 1911, an appointment was made by the Michigan Commission with Governor Chase S. Osborn, with a view to enlisting his co-operation in the securing of an appropriation, but unfortunately, owing to the stringent financial condition of the State Treasury, we were advised not to attempt securing an appropriation at that time, with the result that rather than fail entirely, it was thought best to wait and see if the conditions would not readjust themselves under a different administration.

It was not until the spring of year 1913 that the next conference was held in Lansing, at which time it was explained to Governor Ferris just what the other states, as well as the Federal Government, were doing in the movement. The Governor, in his blunt characteristic way asked, "What does the Inter-State Board of this Perry's Victory Commission expect Michigan to do?" He was told, that because of Michigan's geographical situation, and the benefit it derived from the results of that victory, the Inter-State Board thought Michigan should contribute $75,000.00. The Governor looked at us for a moment, and in that frank manner of his, promptly said, "Nothing doing, if it is an amount of that magnitude."

We then told him it was not our desire to do any thing contrary to his wishes, but rather to work with him, but at the same time we felt, if Michigan was ever going to do anything, that this was the accepted time and the day of salvation. In justice to the Governor I wish to say that he was then facing a crisis, bills were pending in both Houses covering appropriations to the amount of approximately $22,000,000.00, the bulk of them being deficiencies handed down from previous administrations, and which money was sadly needed for Michigan's worthy institutions. The final climax of the conference was, that the Governor admitted Michigan should be represented in the movement, and that he would stand for an appropriation not to exceed $30,000.00, divided $25,000.00 for the Memorial and $5,000.00 for the celebration to be held at Put-in-



THE PERRY MONUMENT AT PUT-IN-BAY.

Designed by J. H. Freedlander and A. D. Seymour, Jr., architects, New York City.

Bay, Ohio, September 10th and 11th, 1913, providing we could get the bills for the appropriation through the House and the Senate. That very day, March 6th, 1913, Senator Robert Y. Ogg presented Senate Bill 368, File 337 in the Senate, and it was unanimously adopted March 25th, 1913.

In the House, Representative A. Ward Copley of Detroit presented a similar bill and it was only after considerable watching and careful explanation to the members of the House, with the assistance of the Committee on Legislation, of the Inter-State Board of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commission, consisting of Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A. (Retired), of Washington, D. C., State Senators A. E. Sisson of Erie, Pa., John P. Sanborn of Newport, R. I., and John M. Whitehead of Janesville, Wis., also Colonel MacKenzie R. Todd, Financial Secretary, Cleveland, Ohio, that success was attained, the bill finally passing April 22nd, 1913, at which time it was given immediate effect, and duly approved by Governor Ferris.

Contributions to the Memorial made by the States, and the Federal Government, up to the present time total $566,806, the appropriations being as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| The Federal Government | $240,000 |
| Ohio | 116,806 |
| Pennsylvania | 50,000 |
| Michigan | 25,000 |
| Illinois | 30,000 |
| Wisconsin | 25,000 |
| New York | 30,000 |
| Rhode Island | 25,000 |
| Kentucky | 25,000 |
| Total | $566,806 |

Michigan's part in the celebration held at Put-in-Bay and Cedar Point, Ohio, September 10th and 11th, 1913, consisted in taking the guests from the State of Michigan, comprising the Governor, Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, State Officers and Officials, Representatives and Senators, including the special committee appointed by the House of Representatives, together with members of the Michigan Commission of the Perry's Victory Centennial Commission and the Michigan Historical Association, on the Michigan Training Ship, the U. S. "Don Juan de Austria," Captain J. Farrand Lewis, commanding, together with the officers and crews of the

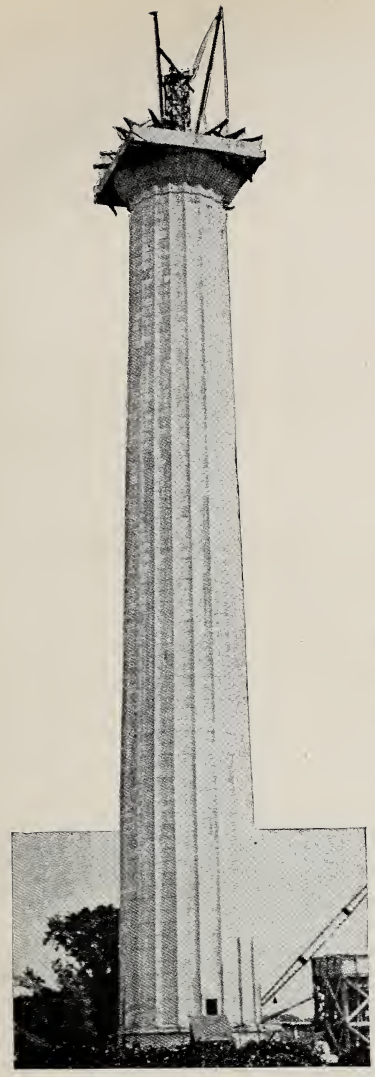
First Battalion, Michigan Naval Brigade. On leaving Detroit at noon September 9th, the regulation salute of seventeen guns were fired by the crew of the "Don Juan de Austria" in honor of Governor Ferris who was aboard ship. The salute made a very impressive effect at the time.

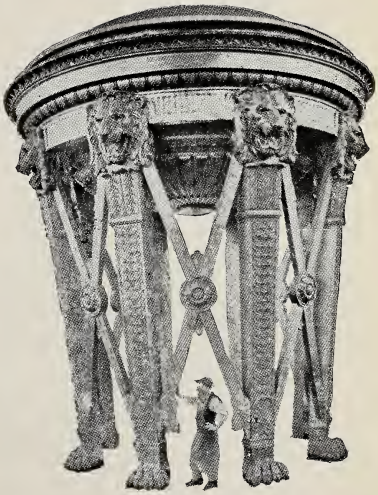
We arrived at Cedar Point that night about 8:30 o'clock where the guests were registered at the Hotel "The Breakers," ample opportunity being afforded to meet the distinguished guests from other participating states. The next morning, or September 10th, all of the guests boarded their own boats for Put-in-Bay, those from Michigan going on the "Don Juan de Austria," from Pennsylvania on the "Wolverine," from Ohio on the "Essex" and "Dorothea," from Wisconsin on the "Alabama" of the Goodrich Transportation Company, from Rhode Island on the "Rochester" of the Ontario & Richelieu Navigation Company, and the "Greyhound" of the White Star Line, while the steamer "Olcott" took care of the people who came to the celebration via Sandusky. With us were a number of private yachts escorting, as guests of honor, Governors and other distinguished visitors from the states participating, all arriving at Put-in-Bay about 10:30 A. M., and after embarking, all proceeded to the Coliseum where exercises were held in commemoration of the occasion.

Those participating in the exercises were Ex-President William H. Taft for the United States, Doctor James A. Macdonald of Toronto who spoke for the Dominion of Canada, Lieutenant Governor R. B. Burchard of Rhode Island (Commodore Perry's native state), Judge Emory A. Walling of Erie, Pa., and the Rev. A. J. Carey of Chicago, who spoke for the negro race, many of whom participated in the battle of Lake Erie.

After the exercises all of the guests returned to Cedar Point where the banquet was held in the evening at the Hotel "The Breakers."

Time will not permit me to dwell at length on the responses made. Those participating were Governors James M. Cox of Ohio, John K. Tener of Pennsylvania, James B. McCreary of Kentucky, Edward F. Dunne of Illinois, Aram J. Pothier of Rhode Island, Francis E. McGovern of Wisconsin, Samuel M. Ralston of Indiana, Dr. James A. Macdonald of Toronto and Ex-President William H. Taft; also Mrs. William Garry Slade, President, National Society of United States Daughters of 1812, and our own Governor, Woodbridge N. Ferris whose strong address was on "Lewis Cass, Michigan's Hero in the War of 1812."





PERRY MEMORIAL AT PUT-IN-BAY.

Doric column being erected to Commodore Perry and the men who won the naval victory on Lake Erie in September, 1813; built of blue granite from Milford, Mass. It is 300 feet from the base to the capital. This is to be surmounted by a bronze "tripod" 35 feet high. This column is 45 feet in diameter at the base, and 35 at the top. The walls are six feet thick.

After entering the monument a descent of three steps brings the visitor into a rotunda, 26 feet 6 inches in diameter. The central object of this rotunda will be a bronze statue of Commodore Perry, and around the side will be 12 tablets on which will be carved the names of all killed and wounded in the battle. On the floor above the dome will be tablets containing the names of all the officers and men of Perry's fleet. From this floor an electric elevator will run to the top of the monument. The bronze tripod, which is to surmount the memorial, is 25 feet high, its greatest diameter is 20 feet and it weighs over 12 tons. The top of the bowl of the tripod is a frosted plate glass and will glow at night with the rays of incandescent lamps installed underneath it.

It might be said that the keynote of all the responses was not only patriotism and love for our country, but the "Peace" which has been maintained for one hundred years between the two largest English speaking nations of the world.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the banquet, which had been prolonged into the "wee small hours," all guests were on hand to return to Put-in-Bay the next morning for the exercises in connection with the removal from their graves of the bones of the American and English officers killed in the Battle of Lake Erie.

The Chief Marshal in charge was Colonel Harry Cutler of Rhode Island, with a staff composed of the leading Naval and Military representatives of the participating states; a provisional Battalion of United States Infantry, Third Division Coast Artillery, Rhode Island National Guard, Third Division Rhode Island Naval Battalion, officers and crews from the U. S. Ships "Essex," "Don Juan de Austria," "Wolverine," and "Dorothea," the Newport Artillery, Rhode Island Militia and the First Light Infantry of Providence, R. I. This blending of color, with the minute guns from vessels in the harbor and the tolling of church bells, all lent an air of dignity and solemnity which will never be forgotten. Especially was this noticeable when the funeral cortege, headed by the splendid band of the First Light Infantry of Rhode Island playing the music of Chopin's funeral march, with Military Organizations, Commissioners and distinguished guests, escorted the remains of the American and British officers from their burial place where they had lain undisturbed for one hundred years, to their final resting place in the crypt of the beautiful memorial erected to commemorate their heroic deeds and the results achieved by the sacrifice of their lives.

The religious services were conducted jointly by the Right Reverend James DeWolf Perry, Jr., Bishop of Rhode Island, and the Venerable Archdeacon H. J. Cody, D. D., L. L. D., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Toronto, Ont., recalling the fact that clerical representatives of both nations joined in the original burial at Put-in-Bay one hundred years ago. The vested choirs of the Episcopal Churches of Sandusky joined in the exercises with sacred songs further emphasizing the solemnity of the occasion.

Upon the conclusion of the exercises, nothing but words of commendation were heard on the successful outcome of the Celebration, all present being impressed with the fact that the work of the erection of this magnificent Memorial must go on, and assurances given that everything possible would be done towards that end.

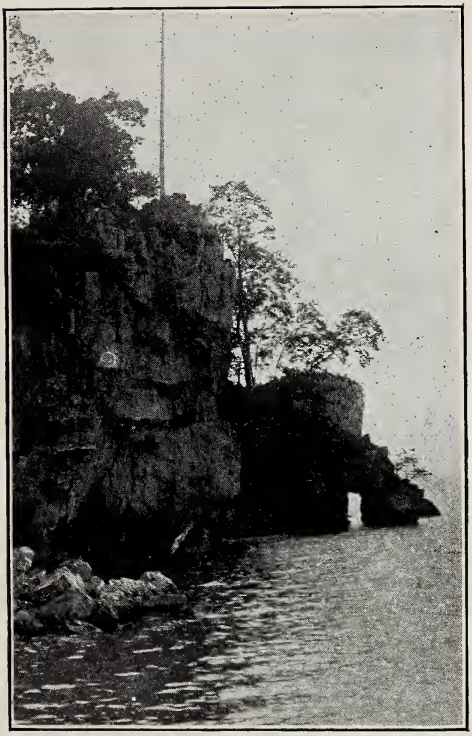
The guests from the state of Michigan returned to the dock of

the Michigan Central R. R. at 9:00 o'clock the evening of September 11th. While enroute to Detroit, fitting resolutions were passed in favor of Commander J. Farrand Lewis and Officers of the "Don Juan de Austria," thanking them for the services rendered and courtesies shown to the guests from the state of Michigan. It might be in place to say at this time, that the officers of the "Don Juan de Austria" received no compensation and that the service rendered was one of love.

Michigan's contribution to the Perry Centennial Celebration might have been a greater one, especially that of the city of Detroit, which city received more benefit from the result of this victory, than any other city of the Great Lakes, but unfortunately with the failure of "Cadillaqua" the year before, and with many of our good citizens under the impression that the celebration at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, was in the nature of a "gloat" over Canada, it was a hard proposition to meet.

However, through the courtesy of Hon. Oscar B. Marx, Mayor of Detroit, a committee consisting of Hon. Charles Moore, Commissioner John C. Lodge and the writer and Commander Divie B. Duffield of the First Battalion, Michigan Naval Brigade, was named to investigate and report a plan of celebration for the city of Detroit, to be held September 12th. This report was made and it was suggested that $5,000 be appropriated by the city of Detroit to be used for the entertainment of the delegations from the states of Wisconsin and Rhode Island who would be in Detroit that day. This money was finally appropriated by the Common Council and committee authorized to go ahead with plans of not only entertainment of guests, but a military parade on the afternoon of that date, at which time the Military Organizations of the State of Rhode Island would have the right of way, the entertainment to close in the evening with a grand display of fireworks. It might be interesting to know that in addition to the appropriation of $5,000, voluntary contributions of $1,600 were also received from patriotic citizens for fireworks.

I would be remiss in my duty if I did not place the credit where it belongs for the State of Michigan's contribution to the Memorial and celebration at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, and Detroit, Mich. First, to Governor Woodbridge N. Ferris, and members of the House and Senate, especially Senator Robert Y. Ogg and Hon. A. Ward Copley, for the interest they displayed in the movement. Second, to Hon. Oscar B. Marx, Mayor of Detroit, and members of the Common Council of the City of Detroit, Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Barlow



"Perry's Lookout" and "The Needle's Eye," Gibralter Island.

of the Michigan State Militia, Commander Divie B. Duffield of the First Battalion, Michigan Naval Brigade. Commodore W. E. Scripps and Dr. Murray W. Muir of the Detroit Motor Boat Club, who arranged for motor and pleasure boat escort for the "Niagara," Commodore Perry's flag ship, on the Detroit River, September 12th, and the good citizens of Detroit who made it worth their while to find time to enter into the festivities of that day.

I have endeavored, in an humble way, to relate to your organization the participation of our beloved State in this patriotic movement, as a recognition of events which made it possible for us to achieve our greatness in after years. I can say conscientiously, I believe that every dollar appropriated for the erection of suitable memorials of this character is not only a good investment for the youth of our state, but an inspiration to the present and future generations, and the realization that we are not thoughtless in recognizing the true valor of those who made the sacrifice.

# LEWIS CASS, MICHIGAN'S HERO OF THE WAR OF 1812.

AN ADDRESS BY WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, AT THE PERRY VICTORY CENTENNIAL.

AGAIN and again my father, when I was a boy, walked many miles in order to hear an address by a great lawyer, judge, statesman or preacher. I accompanied him whenever I could gain his consent. Through his unconconscious training I became a hero worshiper. My library abounds in biographies of great men and great women. As a teacher, I have used these biographies to awaken young men and young women to a realization of their own responsibilities. The life of Lewis Case is an inspiration to every American who is familiar with the story of the Northwest.

The lineage of our hero was clean and vigorous; in other words, he was well born. He first saw the light at Exeter, N. H., October 9, 1782. "His boyhood fell in the uneasy, anxious times of the Confederation. It is clear that in early years he was fond of study, and evinced a capacity which encouraged his father to give him an education beyond the means, one would think, of the mechanic and soldier, who must have had some difficulty in making both ends meet." He attended Phillips Exeter Academy seven years, acquiring what would now approximate a modern high school education. He tried school teaching, but this occupation was not to his liking at a time "when he was energetic to the very point of wastefulness, and burned with an ardor for trial, activity, combat."

In October, 1800, his father, Major Cass, brought his family to Marietta, Ohio. Lewis Cass studied law and in the autumn of 1802 received the first certificate of admission to the bar under the new Ohio Constitution. In 1804 he was elected prosecuting attorney of Muskingum county. At the age of twenty-two his reputation as a lawyer was widely known. In 1806 he was elected to the Ohio Legislature and in 1807, Cass was tendered a commission as United States marshal. This commission he accepted and retained until after the outbreak of the War of 1812. "His whole career was changed by the outbreak of the war of 1812; a great portion of his life was devoted to counteracting the effect of British

influence over the Indians. On February 6, 1812, Congress authorized the President to accept and organize certain voluntary military corps, and on April 10 he was authorized to require the executives of the several States and Territories to take effectual measures to organize and equip their respective portions of (100,000) militia. Ohio's quota of men were divided into three regiments, Colonel Arthur in command of the First, Colonel Findlay in command of the Second, and Colonel Cass of the Third."

Cass here made his first address to his troops: "Fellow-citizens,—the standard of our country is displayed. You have rallied around it to defend her rights and to avenge her injuries. May it wave protection to our friends and defiance to our enemies! And should we ever meet them in the hostile field, I doubt not but that the eagle of America will be found more than a match for the British lion!"

On July 5 the army reached Detroit. Detroit was a French-American village, in reality a piece of old France. The population of the whole of Michigan was at that time about 5,000 and of Detroit proper, not far from 1,000. This is not the time and occasion for speaking of the hesitancy, indifference and humiliating weakness of General Hull. If McLaughlin's account of this campaign is trustworthy, Hull was an utter failure. On the 9th of July a council of war was called. Cass argued enthusiastically for immediate action. It is my opinion that if Cass had been in command the pages of history would read quite differently today. Cass believed that incisive action would insure the fall of Malden and the conquest of Upper Canada, but Hull's delay, his hesitancy, his indecision, prevented the taking of any aggressive step. Finally, Cass, because of his much asking, was allowed to take two hundred eighty men and push his way as near as possible to the enemy's stronghold for the purpose of ascertaining its condition. Cass fought the first battle of the war. This first victory was accepted throughout the country as prophetic of success. Cass was hailed as the "Hero of Tarontee." Had the idea of Cass been followed, the British would never have captured Detroit. They would have been driven to defeat. On the surrender of Detroit, Cass was exasperated beyond endurance. He snapped his sword in twain rather than disgrace himself by its surrender. For forty years to come, the Detroit citizens could not remember the occurrence without flushing with mortification.

December, 1812, Cass was appointed Major General of an Ohio

Militia, but he was not yet exchanged and was prevented by his parole from entering into active service.

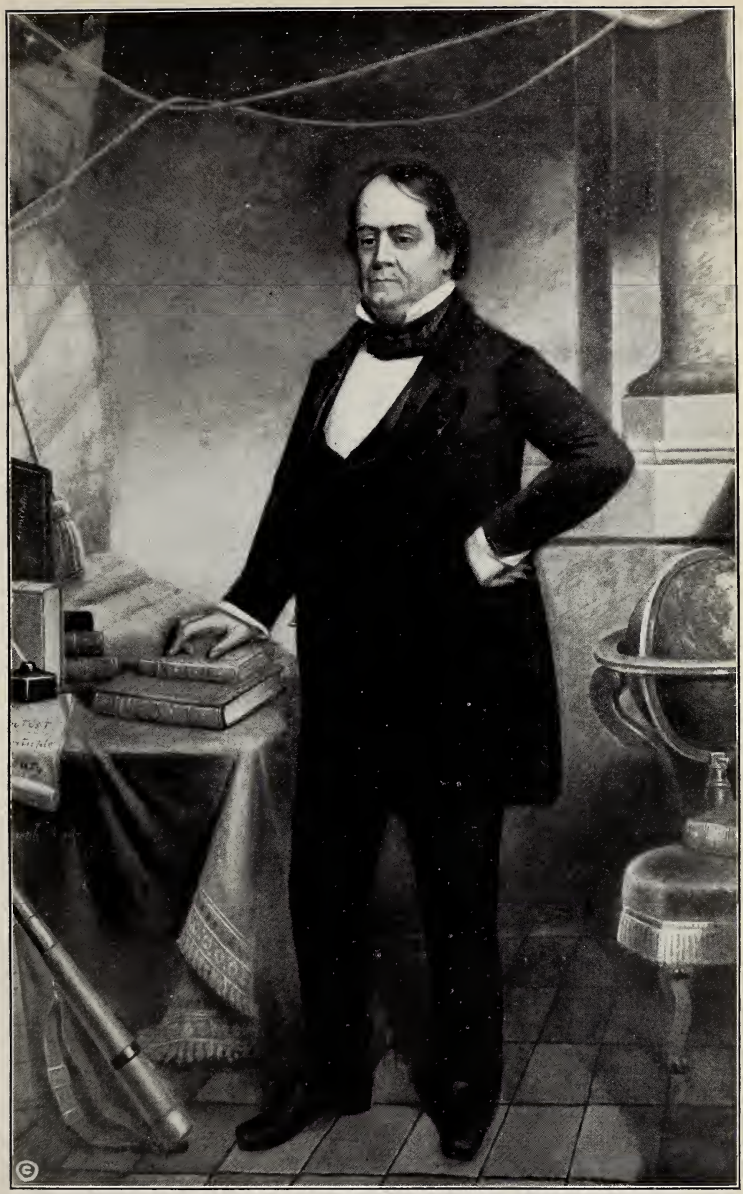
Only a few months ago we celebrated the anniversary of the Massacre at the River Raisin. It is true, that only a few of Cass's troops were engaged in this battle. Cass's record in the War of 1812 stands out in bold relief. His courage, foresight and loyalty must ever command the admiration of American citizens.

It would take more than my allotted time to go into a detailed account of Cass's services as Governor of Michigan Territory. He gave the Territory for eighteen years the best fruits of his energy, of his young manhood and vigorous middle age. The story of the Northwest would be incomplete without the story of this man's services. His knowledge of the Indian's characteristics, his love for the Constitution, his indomitable courage, led him to make extraordinary sacrifices in order that he might know personally the condition of the people of the Northwest. His long journeys in this territory encountering grave dangers are never to be forgotten acts of heroism. The English had long courted the Indians by the generous giving of presents. Britain had used every possible effort to alienate the Indians from the people of the Northwest. Cass with his tactfulness convinced the Indians that the Americans were their real friends and protectors. My only object in mentioning the service of Lewis Cass as Governor of Michigan Territory is to show that his elements of power in the War of 1812 were abiding elements. We cannot call Lewis Cass a Washington, a Lincoln or a Grant, but his sterling qualities magnificently represent the real "makers of the United States."

Lewis Cass was eminently democratic, and the doctrines he proclaimed would be considered genuinely progressive today. He believed in the rule of the people. He believed in putting the responsibility upon the citizens themselves. He believd that they should rule themselves. His work as Governor of Michigan Territory illustrated this most forcibly.

He had a broad vision of educational needs. His efforts to provide for education for all the people of the territory have borne fruit. The educational system of Michigan today bears evidence of his handiwork.

My listeners are all familiar with the further honors that he received at the hands of his country. His services as Secretary of War, Minister to France, his democratic leadership, his election to the United States Senate, his candidacy for the Presidency and his service as Secretary of State all are familiar to you.



GOV. LEWIS CASS.

Oil portrait in the State Capitol.

It has been impossible for me in a few minutes to give any large number of concrete illustrations whereby the actual life of Cass is revealed. The elements of his character that commend my admiration are the same elements that have constituted the greatness of every American hero. He was the very embodiment of good horse sense. He was not visionary. He was not drunken with optimism. He was not a hopeless pessimist. He looked at things in their true relations. His honesty and integrity have never been questioned. Without honesty and integrity human character is not abiding, in fact, it must speedily disintegrate. Cass valued his word as he valued his life. He never dissimulated. He never allowed himself to indulge in pretense under any circumstances. Even in his dealings with the Indians he was frank, firm, fearless, determined and always absolutely honest. In his dealing with political questions he adopted the same sterling frankness. He possessed human kindness. Revenge was not traceable in his nature. Justice and kindness always were uppermost in his consideration of human needs and human wants. Even the Indians who for scores and scores of years had been made the tools of Britain came to love Cass as a good father. Without the element of human kindness no character can be really great or worthy of admiration. The distinctively human element was a tremendous element of power in the man, Cass.

To my mind, loyalty is a princely characteristic of human nature. Cass was loyal to his family, loyal to his friends, loyal to his Territory, loyal to his country. This characteristic has always been the crowning feature of American heroism and it will always remain the crowning feature in *all* real heroism. His loyalty is an inspiration to me at this hour. If my services to the great State of Michigan, I can, in a measure, exercise the loyalty that Cass exercised, I shall command at least some gratitude from the citizens of my State.

It is with difficulty that we comprehend the obstacles that Cass had to overcome. In this age of steam and electricity, space is practically annihilated. Cass as Territorial governor of Michigan made many of his long journeys in a birch canoe enduring hardships that we of today never encounter. Newspapers in no large sense, were at his command. There was a lack of soldiarity among the people with whom he had to deal. There was always a lack of funds for carrying on great industrial enterprises, a lack of funds for furthering the highest ends of statecraft. In attempting to measure the greatness of a man the conditions under which he

labored, must be considered. Thus measured his work for the Northwest must continue to grow in importance to the American citizen who wishes to do honor to whom honor is due. True, Lewis Cass had to do with patriotic, though widely scattered people, men and women of sturdy constitutions, men and women who worshipped at the shrine of service and freedom. He was the right man in the right place, sustained and aided by a grateful people. His whole life is tribute to the loftiest American manhood. The young man of today who would learn lessons in statecraft cannot do better than study the aims, and the achievements of this remarkable man. He was not a genius, though he was a man who knew men, who knew their ambitions and their needs, who knew how to conserve their own resources in order to further the progress of his country.

Yes, Cass can be called Michigan's "Hero of the War of 1812," a hero who never had the opportunity for enblazoning this heroism, as have some of our American heroes since 1812. The American problems that Cass helped to solve were as difficult as any that present themselves to the American people today. Cass did his work well and in the Northwest his name will ever be revered and ever be an inspiration to youth and a source of pride to Michigan as well as to the citizens of other states who have come to know of his services.

# AMERICAN PEACE CENTENARY.

ADDRESS OF HON. WOODBRIDGE N. FERRIS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN, AS TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE MACKINAC CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEACE CENTENARY COMMITTEE AT MACKINAC ISLAND, JULY 21, 1914.

I AM not here this afternoon to deliver an address, I am here solely in the performance of a duty that I owe to the State of Michigan, to Canada, to every other state in the Union, and I might say, to the World. I had duties at home and found it somewhat difficult to decide whether or not I could be present here today and tomorrow. My heart, however, for many, many years has been in the work that this Committee is called upon to do. I feel that there is no other work in the world more important at the present time than the work of this Committee.

As a boy I think that I failed to practice what I am preaching. I can hardly recall a day, when I was a boy in the rural school that I did not engage in a fight; and I am compelled to confess that I cannot recall an instance in which I didn't get "licked;" but it seemed to be in my blood and so, as a source of enjoyment and necessary routine, I renewed the fight the next day. I only speak of this incident so that my friends who know me well will not be surprised at this speech on the subject of peace.

I am very glad that it has been brought out this afternoon that even war is sometimes waged in order that we have have peace; although I have a suspicion that the object of this Committee is to avoid war even to secure peace.

I am not going to weary you with a recital of the cost of war; with the awful sacrifices that have been made in war, in the hope that we may avoid the scourges of war in the future. Every intelligent man and woman here understands all that as well as I do, and perhaps a thousand times better, because I keenly regret that I have not the knowledge I wish I had of the subject that will occupy the attention of the distinguished representatives here, but I recall the Spanish-American War. I remember to have spoken in my own city of Big Rapids on the evening preceding the day the "soldier boys" departed, and I remember how exceedingly difficult

it was to pacify that audience, how exceedingly difficult it was to get the slightest recognition, except we said again and again: "Remember the Maine:" In other words, never mind the great questions at issue, we have had an irreparable injury done us. Let us have revenge. And because of that action of the belligerent instincts and fear of peace, we entered upon that War.

I am here to make no apologies for that war; I am not here to cast a word of reproach upon any of our United States officials who were forced into that war. I simply stand here this afternoon and say, that in my judgment a considerable number of wars are made possible because the majority of mankind are still living on the plane of their belligerent instincts. We often imperil the welfare of our families; we often imperil the welfare of our cities and villages in which we live, and we often imperil our own happiness, because we seem to have been endowed with a disposition to fight—with the disposition to get angry; and consequently the members of this Committee must have an exhaustless patience in attempting to bring men and women into that attitude whereby they are willing to think, whereby they are willing to recognize those finer and those more beautiful emotions and sentiments that make for peace and righteousness. I make that as a suggestion, although I welcome every effort to make further war impossible.

Thank God! in my own veins there is not a drop (allowing me to be the judge) of race hatred. I know of no man of different color or of a different race whom, retaining his manhood, I am not willing to sit beside at the table or to work with wherever and whenever the work demands the co-operation of two men. Thank God! I have been born destitute of anything that savors of race hatred. (Applause.)

I would not emphasize this matter of the belligerent instincts in man were it not for the fact that in almost every state of the Union there has grown up the feeling that the white race has the divine right to the earth. Thank God, I haven't that feeling; and so far as I have any influence or power, I hope to teach men that God Almighty must have had some wise object in creating different races, with innate differences and yet intending us all to partake of the richest bounties of the earth and live together in peace and joy for the righteous ends of life.

On Decoration Day in my home city I spoke to the Grand Army of the Republic and their friends and in going over what I should say on this occasion, I ran down the enlistments and I was astonished to find in the great Civil War the vast majority of our armies

North and South, especially of the North, were made up of men twenty-one years of age, or under twenty-one. What does that mean? It means that war is a sacrifice of youth. And today I need not tell an intelligent audience that the riches of this earth, the riches of this State, the riches of the United States, the riches of Canada and the riches of all the nations of the earth consist in youth, consist in their preservation, development and training in the arts of peace. Therefore, I deem this Committee or any other Committee that advocates the conservation of youth, to be of the utmost importance.

We men, whose hair is white, should rejoice in this attitude towards youth. Perhaps I am unduly enthusiastic over any effort that can possibly be made whereby we shall live together in harmony, as was expressed in that beautiful prayer this afternoon.

We are not in politics today, we are beyond that, I trust (using the term in its popular sense) and I am going to venture a guess; I feel it is the duty of every man regardless of his politics, if he believes in the philosophy that is expounded by this Committee, to commend men, who, in spite of public clamor, still are able to remain steadfast in their convictions. Our efforts in Mexico have attracted not only the attention of this country, but the attention of other countries; and I want to stand here (and I would stand here just the same if I were a Progressive, a Republican, a Socialist or a Prohibitionist, as I do being a Democrat) and say that in my judgment and in my hope, the cold, calm, thoughtful righteous methods that have been adopted by the President of the United States in order to work out peace in Mexico are commended by the world. (Great Applause.)

I firmly believe, and am happy in the belief, that in the days to come, one of the garlands beautiful that will grace the memory of Woodrow Wilson, is the policy he is carrying out to bring about and establish with all nations the kind of peace that has been advocated here this afternoon. I would say the same thing of any other ruler. God will help any President, whatever his politics, and whatever nation he represents, who believes that one of his highest duties, in fact, his highest duty, is to conserve and preserve the youth of his land through the agencies of love.

Now just another word and I am done: It is exceedingly difficult to be patiotic in times of peace. That is when men are really tried, when the test of conscience comes. When arms clash and cannons roar, our impulses and instincts guide us; but when we are at peace, when we are able to look with clear vision, it requires a

higher degree of heroism, to be patriotic. I, therefore, feel the importance of emphasizing what may be called the patriotism of peace. For thousands of years men have heard about the patriotism of war. Let us ring a higher change: The patriotism of peace.

My friends, we have not seen the end of war. I am not a pessimist, nor am I an optimist, I do the best I can to see things as they are. I realize that the last controversy over dollars and cents, over trade, over international relations, has not yet come; but by and by, I am hoping and praying, we shall solve these problems without the shedding of human blood. That I trust, is a part of the mission of this Conference. We cannot get men and women to join us, to work with us, by simply appealing to reason. Oh how many years men and women have been appealed to in regard to what is right and what is wrong. You have got to touch the human heart, you have got to get hold of the higher emotions and the higher aspirations of men and move them "as with a song." We have wasted an immense amount of ammunition in our attempt to move men through the use of cold logic. I may attempt in a controversy with a man to use logic to the best of my ability, but he may thoughtlessly or intentionally utter one expression which brings from me a brutal blow. I do not know whether I make my meaning clear or not, but I beg of all peace conferences to make appeals to the emotions, the hearts and sentiments of men. I do not like to hear critics say that this is mere sentiment. A thousand times I have said: "Take out of life its poetry, its sunshine, its laughter, its friendships, and there is nothing left—it is absolutely dead." These elements of life belong to the common people. Do not misunderstand me when I say "common people." I do not mean somebody lower down. I mean the great brotherhood on the "main traveled roads."

I am glad that Almighty God has so organized the world that all men can understand 'Thank you;" that all men can understand "Good morning;" that all men can understand courtesy; that all men can understand the blush of a flower; in a word, that all men and women can understand kindness and love.

In 1915 we are to celebrate one hundred years of peace. We should so celebrate that we shall arouse in youth across the water and in our own country, the patriotism of peace.

My friends, I want you to know that Michigan is honored today in this conference and I want you to know that I am personally grateful to the delegates I have appointed in Michigan,—many of them are here, and I want our friends from the other states and

from Canada to know that Michigan is for Peace, for a richer and greater civilization, Michigan is big enough and broad enough to always have a welcome for "our brothers." (Prolonged Applause.)

I now have the distinguished honor and pleasure of presenting Judge Alton B. Parker, of New York, permanent chairman of this "Mackinac Conference" of the American Peace Centenary Committee.

# MARKING FORT ST. JOSEPH.

BY RENA B. GILLAM.[1]

THE Fort St. Joseph Historical Society was organized three years ago, for the purpose of marking the site of the old Fort St. Joseph, located within the southern city limits of Niles. This fort, because of its early French and Indian associations, is one of the best known of the old forts in the State of Michigan, and because it is the only one over which have floated the flags of four nations.

The membership of this Society numbered at first nearly one hundred members, but their enthusiasm was worn out during the long wait for a suitable boulder to be located, so that only a faithful few remained to do the work.

Our first inspiration for undertaking this work came from Mrs. Marie B. Ferrey who urged us on, encouraging and suggesting ways and means. At last the boulder, considered by many to be the finest and largest natural boulder in the State, was found three miles south of Niles. The stone was 12x10x11 feet, and its weight was estimated at 70 tons. It was nearly two years before a contractor could be found who would attempt the work of moving it. When the task was finally undertaken, eight men and four teams worked four weeks to place the boulder upon the chosen spot, so rich in historic lore, which had been donated to the Society for the purpose of erecting a suitable memorial. The cost, when the work was completed, was nearly $1,050, which included the cement platform seats and the four posts named for the four nations, France, Spain, England and the United States.

This fort was built by the French as a mission and trading post in 1690, in which year Father Aveneau, a Jesuit priest, ascended the river from its mouth; from that time the flag of France floated over

[1]Mrs. Rena B. Gillam was born in Oneida, N. Y. and graduated in the high school of that city. She took the State Regents course and on its completion came to Michigan and taught in the public schools, doing high school work for four years. She was married to George E. Gillam, a newspaper publisher at Harrisville, Mich., now publisher of the Niles Daily Sun. For a time Mr. and Mrs. Gillam lived in Hillsdale, Michigan but removed to Niles in 1902.

Mrs. Gillam was one of the organizers of the Women's Progressive League and organized, and was first Worthy Matron of, the Order of the Eastern Star in Niles. She is the secretary of the Fort St. Joseph Historical Society, is a member of the Ladies' Historical Society of Niles, a member of the Michigan Women's Press Association, a life-long member of the Episcopal church and its various organizations and of a number of social organizations. In spite of these activities and her home duties she often assists her husband in issuing his paper.

THE ST. JOSEPH'S BOULDER.

Boulder at Niles, marking site of Old Fort St. Joseph.

this region until the French and Indian war seventy years later which resulted in the transfer of the territory to the English. The Indians under Pontiac captured the fort from the English, but a band of Illinois patriots, making a trip overland in the dead of winter attended with many hardships, recaptured it in the same year. In 1781 a detachment of Spaniards came up from St. Louis, and finding the fort feebly garrisoned, captured and destroyed it. It was rebuilt, and by the terms of the treaty of peace with England, at the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the flag of the young republic floated over the territory of Michigan.

The original site of Fort St. Joseph, while it has been obscured by time, is yet easily determined, and all through this section there may be located the remains of the old circular council grounds of the Indians. Many valuable collections of relics have been found near the site of this fort. When the field is plowed in the spring, or after heavy rains, searchers are nearly always rewarded with the discovery of beads and trinkets used in Indian trade. Four men, especially interested, banded themselves together many years ago under the name of the Miami Cross Society, and have since pursued their historical researches in this locality. Each has a collection of relics not exceeded by any in the State in variety and excellent state of preservation.

The first money to defray the expense of moving the boulder was raised by giving an art exhibit; other ways and means used were a "Ransack Sale," sale of postal cards containing views of the boulder, a Magazine Day, an entertainment, and individual subscriptions by the school children. The task, beginning on November 21, 1912, was finished and all paid for by August 1st, 1913, making only eight months' work.

The dedication took place on July 4th, in the form of a County celebration, with floats representing Colonial days, and a parade over two miles in length. A fine program was given; excellent historical addresses were delivered by Congressman E. L. Hamilton, Judge O. W. Coolidge, Judge Howard of South Bend, and Marie B. Ferrey of Lansing. Patriotic music was rendered by a band and a chorus of young ladies gowned in the national colors.

The following was clipped from the Chicago *Record-Herald* of July 5th, 1913: "It was not quite three o'clock when Mrs. John Ferguson, President of the Fort St. Joseph Historical Society, stepped forward and with beaming smile and a glad light in her eye, gently pulled a cord which released a great flag, and Lo! Behold! the 70-ton rock with its carving, was in view of thousands of

spectators. After a burst of cheering, the sweet song 'America' began to fall from the lips of fifty white robed girls who were placed in front of the boulder. Then a prayer and several addresses followed. The flag, which had draped the big rock, was itself made by a woman's hand."

The members of the Society feel very proud of this work. Anyone visiting in the vicinity of Niles should not fail to go to the site of Fort St. Joseph. Governor Ferris and members of his staff visited this Fort site Wednesday, October 7th, 1913 and were greatly pleased with the work accomplished.

# ADDRESS AT THE DEDICATION OF THE BOULDER MARKING THE SITE OF FORT ST. JOSEPH.[1]

BY JUDGE ORVILLE W. COOLIDGE.[2]

WE have assembled here today under the auspices of the Fort St. Joseph Historical Society to commemorate events which occurred nearly a century before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed at Philadelphia in 1776. We have met here to commemorate the first occupation of the valley of the St. Joseph by white men and the establishment of a military post on the spot where we now meet.

The labors of the Society in placing upon this bluff a massive boulder to remind us of the historic and romantic associations and traditions which cluster round this spot, merit our hearty tribute of thanks and appreciation. If we are normal beings, Providence has endowed us with sentiment and imagination. These elements of our nature, if properly developed, lead us to linger now and then over the earliest records, traditions and legends of the place in which our lot has been cast.

This place and this occasion carry our minds back to a primitive age; to a time far beyond the earliest advent of the American settler to this region; to a time one hundred twenty-five years before Squire Thompson, the pioneer colonist of Berrien County, built his log cabin and planted his field of corn on the flats just north of the bluff.

It was the year 1697 when the French soldiers of "le grand monarque," Louis XIV, first unfurled the French flag over the rude fort on the St. Joseph river which afterwards became known as Fort Joseph. This military occupation followed rapidly in the wake of the first voyage of La Salle up the St. Joseph River, and of the establishment of the mission to the Pottawatomies and Miamis by the Jesuit fathers seven years before.

It was the third day of December, 1679, that La Salle and his

[1]Delivered at Niles, Berrien county, July 4th, 1913.

[2]Orville W. Coolidge was born at Edwardsburg, Cass county, Michigan in 1839; graduated at the Michigan University in 1863 and at the Harvard Law School in 1865. Practiced in his profession at Niles till his election as Circuit Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit of the state. This office he held from January 1st, 1894, to January 1st, 1912. Since his retirement from the Bench he has been engaged in the practice of law with Senator Charles E. White at Niles, Michigan.

party of thirty-three persons in eight canoes rowed along the banks of this river at the foot of this bluff. They were the first white men who ever ascended the St. Joseph River, as far as we can learn from authentic records. Before the voyage of La Salle up the river, he had built a rude fort at the mouth of the river at the point where the Daughters of the American Revolution at St. Joseph have placed a boulder to commemorate the event. He called the river the River of the Miamis and named the fort Miami, after a tribe of Indians by that name who then occupied the valley of the St. Joseph. This fort appears to have been abandoned in a few years and even its early history is merged in obscurity.

The explorations of La Salle were accompanied and followed by journeys of the French "coureurs de bois," or runners of the forest, who were engaged in buying furs from the Indians for the French traders of Quebec and Montreal. A natural alliance grew up between these men and the Western Indians, which was strengthened by intermarriage between the Frenchmen and the Indian women.

The advent of the French race, however, into the wilds of the west, was destined to be succeeded by a movement much more important than the visits and alliances of the "runners of the forest."

The Court of Versailles, having gained possession of Canada, was now engaged in a dream of conquest embracing a vast continent. While the English colonists remained contented with the possession of a narrow belt of territory along the Atlantic coast, the French were determined to occupy the vast territory lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi and between the Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico. By the close of the 17th century, nearly all of this region had been taken possession of formally by the French. In this occupation explorers, missionaries and soldiers joined. The desire to make this territory a New France and to convert the Indians to Christianity went hand in hand. Every missionary became an explorer and every mission was at once preceded or followed by a fort.

A mission to which I will allude hereafter appears to have been located here about the year 1690. The military fort, established shortly afterwards, was named after the river. The name of the river was changed from the River of the Miamis to that of the St. Joseph river in honor of the Patron Saint of the Canadian Catholics.

The first fort, erected in 1697, was a crude affair without earthworks, a mere stockade or palisade equipped with a few cannon. At a later period, but at what particular date we cannot determine,

earthworks were erected on this bluff near the point where we are gathered today. The ruins of these earthworks were in evidence when the American settlers first came and some of the oldest living residents claim to have seen them.

The French occupation of the St. Joseph valley has received little attention from American writers and numerous errors have crept into the history of this region. Traditions, unsupported by any reliable proof, have been narrated as actual facts. The most authentic sources of information regarding the earliest history of this point are the letters and journals of the French missionaries. These have become accessible through the labors of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, one of the most learned antiquarians of the northwest, who a few years ago completed an extensive compilation of the journals and letters of the French missionaries in the Northwest, in seventy-three volumes, entitled the "Jesuit Relations."

Most of the early historians of the Northwest, including Parkman himself, have erroneously assumed that Fort St. Joseph was located at the mouth of the St. Joseph River and have confounded Fort St. Joseph with Fort Miami. The latter was located at the mouth of the river by La Salle, and was maintained but a few years.

That Fort St. Joseph was established near the present site of the city of Niles and not at the mouth of the river, is abundantly established by the letters, journals and writings of the early French missionaries and travellers and by maps made of this region in the eighteenth century.

In this connection I desire to call attention to the interesting and reliable article on Fort St. Joseph by Lewis H. Beeson in volume 28 of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. An interesting article was also published in volume 35 of the same series by Daniel McCoy.

In the summer of 1905 I made a personal examination, to some extent, of the Jesuit Relations and the works of Charlevoix in the Chicago Public Library. Charlevoix was a celebrated French traveller who made an extensive trip through North America in the years 1721-1722. Durings his travels he visited Fort St. Joseph in 1721. In 1744 he published at Paris his work entitled "Histoire de la Nouvelle France" and also a journal written while in America in the form of letters addressed to the Duchess de Lesdiguère. The original editions are in the Chicago Public Library. In the history of New France is a map entitled "Map of the Lakes of Canada," which I examined. On this map the St. Joseph River is designated

correctly, Fort St. Joseph is named and it is located at about the present site of the city of Niles. The village of the Miami tribe of Indians is located on the right bank of the river and that of the Pottawatomies on the left bank, immediately opposite.

The Kankakee River, flowing a few miles west of South Bend, is designated as the Teakiki and the portage between the St. Joseph and the Teakiki Rivers is placed a few miles south of the Fort.

In connection with this map, a letter addressed to the Duchess de Lesdiguère by Charlevoix during his visit here is interesting and serves to fix still further the site of the fort and mission. This letter is referred to in the articles by Lewis Beeson and Daniel McCoy. I desire to read a portion of it, although the whole of it is interesting. The letter is headed, "Letter from the River St. Joseph this 16th August, 1721,' reads as follows:[3]

"Eight days ago I arrived at this post where we have a mission, and where there is a commandant with a little garrison. The house of the commandant, which is a small affair, is called the fort, because it is surrounded by a palisade which is a crude affair. There are however some small cannon, ***** sufficient to prevent surprise and hold the savages in check.

"In order to reach the fort one ascends it [the river] 20 leagues. [This would be about forty-eight English miles]. We have here two villages of Indians, one of the Miamis and one of the Pottowatomies. Both are for the greater part Christians but they have been for a long time without pastors and the missionary who has been sent to them lately will have some difficulty in restoring to them the exercise of their religion.

"The River St. Joseph is navigable for eighty leagues and in the twenty leagues that I ascended in order to reach the fort, I saw everywhere a beautiful country covered with trees of great height."

The site of the fort at about this point is also established by the line marked out by the British military authorities in 1772 for a road from Detroit to the Illinois river. This is described in the Haldimand papers.[4] After designating the eastern part of the road to Kalamazoo, the road is marked out as follows:

"To Prairie Ronde 30 miles,
To Fort St. Joseph 75 miles,
To Portage 12 miles."

[3]This letter as here quoted differs from the letter as given by L. H. Beeson in vol. 28, and Daniel McCoy in vol. 35 this series.

[4]The Haldimand papers can be found in vols. 9, 10 and 11 of the Michigan Pion. & Hist. Colls. The description of the British military road from Detroit to Fort St. Joseph and from thence to the Illinois and Mississippi is found on page 268 of vol. 10. The carrying point named is the portage to the Kankakee River, commencing near St. Mary's Academy north of South Bend, Indiana, about 2 miles. The names of some of the rivers are Indian, and differ somewhat from the names now used, but it is easy to identify them.—Author.

The Portage here alluded to is a point on the St. Joseph River near St. Mary's, where the French Missionaries and the travellers on their way to the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers left the St. Joseph River and had their canoes carried to the Kankakee four miles distant.

Mr. McCoy in the article referred to has copied a map which was made by John Mitchell in 1755, for military purposes. On this map the fort and two Indian villages are located at practically the same point as indicated on the Charlevoix map made in 1744.

The first fort erected had no earthworks. Subsequently, earthworks were evidently erected, as they were partially in existence when the American pioneers first came here. These earthworks were found a few rods north and west of the boulder. The French flag floated here for over sixty years.

In 1759, however, there occurred one of the greatest events of modern history and that event determined the fate of Fort St. Joseph. Quebec, the great stronghold of the French in America and one of the greatest natural fortresses in the world capitulated to the British forces, and soon afterwards Montreal surrendered. It was practically the final act in the great drama of warfare which had raged relentlessly for four years between Great Britain and France and it decided what nation should govern the destinies of North America.

The French flag was hauled down from every fort along the line of the Great Lakes and rivers of the west and the English flag unfurled in its place. Among the names of the forts which are recorded as having surrendered to the British is the Fort St. Joseph on the River St. Joseph. This took place in 1761 when a detachment of British troops from Montreal took possession of it.

The fort again changed hands in the year 1763. In that year the conspiracy of the great Indian chief, Pontiac, was at its height. The chieftain had visited the Pottowatomies and inflamed their passions against the English colonists. They enthusiastically joined the movement then embracing nearly all of the leading tribes of the west.

The year 1763 was a disastrous one for the English and the English colonies. Fort after fort surrendered to the Indians, among them Fort St. Joseph. A band of the Pottowatomies surprised the British commander, Lieut. Schlosser on the 25th of May. They massacred eleven of the soldiers and took possession of the fort. A description of this massacre is given in Parkman's masterly work on the Conspiracy of Pontiac. The fort was held by the Pottowat-

omies for over a year until Pontiac made his peace with the British when it again passed into their possession. Some minor events in the history of the fort I pass by.

The most memorable event perhaps in the history of the fort took place in 1781. Some years ago, E. G. Mason, then President of the Chicago Historical Society, who was a student of the history of the Northwest, read an essay before the Chicago Society in which he established from the examination of the authentic records found in the Spanish archives at Madrid, the fact that in the year 1781 a Spanish force from St. Louis, a military outpost of Spain, marched to the St. Joseph River, captured Fort St. Joseph, hauled down the British flag and raised the Spanish flag.[5] The Spanish troops remained only a few days, but they set fire to the fort and store houses and destroyed them when they returned to St. Louis. The fort was never rebuilt.

The event was of historic importance because it was connected with a secret scheme of France and Spain. The American Revolution had not then closed and both France and Spain were engaged in war with Great Britain. Spain was at that time in military possession of all of the territory west of the Mississippi and a part of Louisiana. It was the intention of France at the close of the war to allow her ally, Spain, to take possession of a portion of the territory east of the Mississippi and to control the navigation of that river. She wished to retain for herself most of the Northwest territory and to confine the United American colonies to the Atlantic seaboard. This is clearly set forth in John W. Foster's work entitled, "A Century of American Diplomacy."

This scheme was frustrated by the sagacity and courage of three great men, Franklin, Adams and Jay,[6] then ambassadors to Europe, who in violation of the instructions of Congress, that they should obtain the consent of our ally, the French government, before making a treaty with Great Britain entered into a secret treaty with Great Britain by which the United States was to have all of its possessions east of the Mississippi and south of Canada.

"We have here," says Foster, "the strange spectacle of the colonies joining with their enemy, the mother country, to circumvent the scheme of their allies." The French officials were extremely angry when the terms of this treaty were made known but the

[5]This forms one chapter of Mason's "Chapters from Illinois History" and is also printed as a separate article in the Magazine of American History for May, 1886, under the title of "March of the Spanish Across Illinois."

[6]Benjamin Franklin was Ambassador to France; John Jay was Ambassador to Spain; John Adams was Ambassador to Amsterdam; and Henry Laurens was Ambassador to London. These men signed the preliminary articles of peace with Great Britain in Nov. 1782, as representatives of the American government.

opposition was useless and Congress, although mildly censuring our ambassadors, ratified their action and insisted on the Mississippi River being recognized a our Western boundary. Thus Michigan was probably preserved from French domination. The action of Franklin, Adams and Jay was clearly justifiable. The secret negotiations between the French and Spanish governments, with the design of acquiring all the territory west of the Alleghanies and the entire control of the Mississippi River, were attended with the grossest duplicity.

I ought not to close this address without referring briefly to the French Missions among the Indians at this point and in the immediate vicinity of Bertrand. The Mission appears to have been established about the year 1690 by Father Allouez. According to the Jesuit Relations, Father Chardon came with the Pottowatomies to this point from Green Bay in the year 1711 and was their first pastor in this region. One of the French missionaries died here and a wooden cross near the site of Miami village for a long time marked the spot of his burial. His name is unknown but it is probable that it was Father Aveneau. There are traditions that Joliet, the discoverer of the Mississippi, and also Marquette were at this point before the year 1690 but there is no authentic proof of any of these visits and I could find no allusion to such visits in the Jesuit Relations.

The French Mission continued until about the year 1759 when it was practically abandoned. A church was again established about 1830, in answer to an appeal made by Leopold Pokagon, a leading chief of the Pottawatomies who was respected by the early settlers. His village was one mile west of Bertrand village. Father Badin, a French Catholic priest, was sent to minister to the Pottawatomies and a church edifice of logs was built near the village of Pokagon. In 1837 this building was supplanted by a new church edifice of brick in the village of Bertrand. By the year 1840 the last remnant of the Pottawatomies had departed from this locality for the Indian reservations beyond the Mississippi. A few of the tribes, however, settled in Silver Creek Township in Cass County, Michigan.

The petition of Pokagon to the Catholic Bishop in 1831 is thus given:

"My Father, I come again to implore you to send us a Black Robe to instruct us in the Word of God. If you have no care for us old men, at least have pity on our poor children, who are grow-

ing up as we have lived, in ignorance and vice. We still preserve the manner of prayer as taught to our ancestors by the Black Robe who formerly resided at St. Joseph. Morning and evening with my children, we pray together before the crucifix. On Friday we fast according to the traditions handed down by our fathers and mothers, for we ourselves have never seen a Black Robe at St. Joseph. Listen to the prayers which he taught them and see if I have not learned them correctly."

It is related that Pokagon after the presentation of his petition fell upon his knees, made the sign of the Cross and recited in his own language the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostle's Creed and the Ten Commandments.

The early French Missions among the Indians were productive of great good. A large portion of the Pottawatomies were converted to Christianity and became to a considerable degree civilized and accustomed to industrial pursuits. Between the time of the abandonment of the mission and the appeal of Pokagon, a decline in the condition of the Pottawatomies commenced. A passion for strong drink was encouraged by the liquor sold them by American traders. During the French occupation this traffic was largely suppressed. The French priests despised habits of intoxication. They were remarkably temperate themselves and at all times strenuously endeavored to prevent the use of liquor by the Indians.

It may be questioned whether the method of colonization pursued by the French among the Indians was calculated to become as successful as that of the British. This, however, should be said, that everywhere they treated the Indians with kindness and forbearance. No cruelties such as marked the conquest of the Spaniards in both North and South America attended the peaceful mission of the French. That innate courtesy, tact and power of adaptation to attract other races which have characterized the French race beyond all other races, were inherent in the missionary, the explorer and the soldier alike. The French priests contemplated the building up of the Indian tribes into civilized communities, which should owe allegiance to the French government but preserve their own land and property rights. In this they were destined to be disappointed both by the British conquest and the subsequent policy of the American Government. The Americans were essentially hostile to the continued location of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi River.

In conclusion, I desire to say that we are commemorating today not only the earliest military occupation of this region but the first

introduction of Christianity and civilization into the wilds of western Michigan. The French priests preceded the French soldiers and the fort followed the mission. The fortitude and heroism of the French missionary in plunging into a wilderness thousands of miles distant from home, inhabited by roving savages, enduring all manner of privation and suffering, have never been surpassed. Many of them were men of brilliant attainments like Joliet, Marquette and Allouez, who left their homes amid the most cultured society of Europe to endure the privations and dangers of a sojourn in forests among savages, without even the ordinary comforts of life.

# THE GENERAL CUSTER STATUE.[1]

BY ELIZABETH (BACON) CUSTER.[1]

ON June 4, 1910, the City of Monroe, Michigan, was honored by the presentation of a handsome equestrian statue in bronze, of Gen. George Armstrong Custer, the famous Civil War hero and Indian fighter, native of Michigan. The statue was presented by Gov. Fred N. Warner on behalf of the people of the State of Michigan, to Monroe City, the home of Gen. Custer, and was accepted by its mayor, Jacob Martin. It is the work of Edward Clark Potter, the well known sculptor of Greenwich, Conn., and represents Custer in a Civil War scene, facing the Confederate lines, hat in hand and charger reined high. On the pedestal is the simple inscription, "Custer," the committee believing that this was more forceful and significant than a detailed description.

The unveiling, which was performed by General Custer's widow, Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon Custer, took place in the forenoon, and was witnessed by thousands of visitors, many Civil War Veterans, Spanish War Veterans, Custer's Cavalry Brigade Veterans, and citizens of Monroe. President Taft spoke of Custer's service to the country, and Senator William Alden Smith of Michigan delivered the oration of the day.

George Armstrong Custer was born at New Rumely, Harrison County, Ohio, December 5, 1839. He was a descendant of a Hessian trooper, Kuester, who fought in Burgoyne's army in the Revolution and afterward settled in Maryland. From there Emmanuel Custer, a descendant, removed to Ohio and settled near New Rumely, where he was twice married. His second wife, Mrs. Kilpatrick, was the mother of George Armstrong, Nevin, Thomas Ward, Boston, and Marguerite Emma, the youngest, who married Lieut. James Calhoun.

Custer came to Monroe when thirteen years old and lived with his half-sister, Mrs. David Reed. He was educated in the Stebbins Academy at Monroe, and one of his old friends and seatmates, J.

[1]Mrs. Elizabeth Bacon Custer, daughter of the late Judge Daniel S. Bacon of Monroe, was married to General Custer in February, 1864, and was with him at various army posts until his death in 1876. Mrs. Custer resides in New York City; she is in receipt of pension from the government as well as other income and she devotes much of her time and means to soldiers' widows and orphans who are less fortunate than herself.—EDITOR.

MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER.

M. Bulkley of Monroe, tells many amusing incidents of their early schooldays and of Custer's fondness for stories of "fights." Custer finished his education at West Point, graduating in June, 1861, and immediately reported for duty. He distinguished himself throughout the Civil War for his bravery and daring, and rapidly rose in rank, until at the age of twenty-three he was a brigadier-general. April 15, 1865, he was brevetted major-general of volunteers.

In February, 1864, he married Miss Elizabeth Bacon of Monroe. She was with him during the first year of their marriage and spent nine years with him in the West. Later she published their experiences, together with sketches of Custer's life, in "Boots and Saddles" and "Tenting on the Plains."

After the close of the Civil War Custer accepted the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Seventh Cavalry and joint his regiment at Fort Riley, Kansas, in November, 1866, where he served until 1871. From 1871-1873 he served with his regiment in Kentucky, and in the spring of the latter year he was ordered to Fort Rice, Dakota. In May, 1876, he commanded his regiment in a campaign against the confederated Sioux tribes, encountering them, on June 25, at Little Big Horn, where he and all his men, 254 cavalrymen, were slain by Sitting Bull's band. Among the killed were five members of the Custer family—Gen. Custer, his brothers Thomas Ward and Boston, his brother-in-law Lieut. James Calhoun, and his nephew Armstrong Reed.

The bodies were buried on the battlefield, and in 1879 the field was made a national cemetery. The spot where Custer made his last charge was marked by a monument, upon which are inscribed the names and rank of the fallen heroes. In 1877 Custer's remains were removed to the cemetery at West Point, and a most unsatisfactory statue was placed upon the grave; it was finally removed and stored. The erection of the new statue is largely due to the efforts of his old friend Mr. Bulkley and to Mayor Martin.[3]

[3]See Detroit *Journal*, May 28, 1910, Detroit *News* and *Journal*, June 4, 1910; Detroit *Free Press*, June 5, 1910; Lansing *State Republican*, May 16, 1910; Grand Rapids *Herald*, June 5, 1910; Appleton's Cyclopedia of Biography.

# THE STUDY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY

## THE MICHAEL SHOEMAKER COLLECTION OF MICHIGAN MAPS

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BY WILBUR F. HEDRICK, PH. D.

# THE MICHAEL SHOEMAKER COLLECTION OF MAPS.[1]

BY WILLIAM L. JENKS.

AN interesting exhibit at the annual meeting of the Society in 1913 was the collection of early maps relating to the Great Lakes region. It was purchased with the Shoemaker Fund, contributed by a daughter of the late Michael Shoemaker, who was, for many years, an active member and officer of the Society. These maps, and other which may be acquired later, are to be designated, "The Michael Shoemaker Collection."

The earliest map is one issued in 1648 by Blaeu[2] of Amsterdam, one of the most famous of map-making families, whose business was begun in 1612 and was carried on by his sons and grandsons. This map is entitled "Americæ Nova Tabula." It is beautifully colored and contains around the border a number of figures or types of different races, and views of cities. It is on a small scale, but is clear and distinct. It is included in the collection to show the then general state of knowledge in Europe about America. None of the Great Lakes is shown, but the St. Lawrence River begins far in the interior of the continent. Lake Champlain appears not far from the proper location, but on much too large a scale.

In accordance with a fashion not unusual, the same plate from which this map was printed was used in issuing a map at about the same time by Jan Jansson,[3] under the title, "America Noviter delineata."

The next map in point of age is a very rare French map made by Pierre DuVal[4] and issued in Paris about 1670. The first edition of the map was in 1653 and differs very little from this. The configurations of the Great Lakes are very curious, Lake Ontario

[1]Read at the annual meeting, 1913.

[2]Blaeu—Jean—1596-1673—son of Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571-1638), also a noted map-maker and the founder of a family of noted map-makers. The sons and grandsons of Willem Blaeu afterwards carried on the business. For biography of Blaeu family see Lowery Collection (Library of Congress series) p. 133.

[3]Jansson—Jan—died 1666—a Dutch geographer of Amsterdam, who was originally associated with his brother-in-law, Hendrick Hondius. Jansson's three daughters married three brothers who took the name of Jansson. After the death of Hondius, in 1644 (or 1638?) two of the sons-in-law became connected with the business which was carried on under the firm name of Jansonius. See Phillip's List of Geographical Atlases (Library of Congress series) p. 217.

[4]Du Val—Pierre (d'Abbeville)—1619-1684. A French map-maker and relative of Nicolas Sanson, also a celebrated geographer. Consult August Jal's Dictionaire Critique, p. 521; Michaud's Biographic Universelle, and Lowery Collection (Library of Congress series) p. 150.

measuring about 1½ inches in length while Lake Erie extends only about ½ inch. Lake Huron seems to be part of a series of lakes and bears the name in French, "Fresh Water Sea or Great Lake of the Hurons and Atigoatan, which has flow and ebb."

Next in age is an English map of 1680 by William Berry, probably the largest and most authentic English map of North America up to this date. It is evidently based upon Sanson's map of 1650, but has a few alterations in the shape and names of the lakes.

A very interesting and rare map is the English map of Daniel, covering the English Empire in the Continent of America and issued in 1685. This map shows three of the Great Lakes. "Huron" lies between 44 degrees and 45 degrees north latitude, and just west of 77 longitude. About one degree due south is "Lake Ontarius" and south of that and connected with it by a river, is "Lake Erius or Felis." The two upper lakes are connected by streams with the St. Lawrence River.

A French map of 1649, Jaillot's[5] "North America," is of value chiefly because it is a reproduction, in everything but the name of the author, of the first map ever published which showed to some extent, all the Great Lakes—the map of Sanson[6] issued in 1650. The Lakes are not completely shown. Of Superior and Michigan, only the lower parts appear. All are distorted and not very correctly placed with relation to each other, yet they indicate a knowledge of the interior of the continent very far in advance of the English geographers of 1650.

An English map of 1695, by Morden[7] shows the Lakes in approximately their relatively proper positions. This same map, with a slight change in the title, was issued again in 1719 under the authorship of Senex, a well known geographer of that date.

Another English map, made in 1710 by John Senex,[8] is a fine large colored map covering territory extending beyond the Mississippi and showing the new discoveries made in that region beyond the Great Lakes.

A fine French map, undated and bearing no author's name, was issued probably in 1718 by N. de Fer[9] "Geographer to His Catholic

[5]Jaillot—Charles Hubert Alexis—1640 to 1712 . . . A French geographer born in the village of Avignon near Saint Claude. Jaillot's son and grandson were also "geographes du roi." Lowery Collection, p. 157.

[6]Sanson—Nicolas (d'Abbeville)—1600-1667. A French map-maker whose three sons and a grandson were also noted geographers.

[7]Morden—Robert—died 1703, an English map and globe maker who lived in the latter part of the 17th century. The maps that passed through his hands bear the quaint inscription "Sold by R. Morden at ye Atlas in Cornhill near ye Royal Exchange London." For sketch of Life see *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[8]Senex—John—died 1740—a London, Eng. map-maker. He was made a fellow of the Royal society in 1728. His maps appeared about 1710 in collaboration with C. Price and then and later with John Maxwell. For life of Senex consult *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[9]Fer—Nicolas de—1646-1720—A portrait of this French geographer with a notice of his life and a list of his maps can be found in Weimar's *Allgemeine geographische ephemeriden* (1803), vol. 12, pp. 368-372.

Majesty." This map is entitled Map of New France, and gives the Great Lakes in more detail than does any other map up to this date.

The same author, de Fer, is responsible for a beautiful map issued in 1719 and bearing the title in French, "A very Curious Map of the South Sea." It covers all of North and South America and therefore shows the Lakes on a small scale. The chief interest of the map is the elegant engraving appearing as inserts in the ocean spaces showing a fine view of Niagara Falls, beavers at work, plans of cities, Indians, animals, birds, etc.

Two of the maps bear the date of 1720. One is by Herman Moll,[10] the English geographer, and shows all the Lakes on a large scale. It contains as an insert, an elegant engraving of "Sasquesahanok Indian Fort." The other, which is undated, seems to belong to this same period. It is by J. B. Homann[11] of Nuremberg, and is based upon the travels and book of Hennepin. This map is also beautifully ornamented.

The collection includes two maps by D'Anville,[12] a famous French geographer. One is of North America and is dated 1746. This is usually considered the best French map of the whole of North America up to this date. The one dated 1755 includes Canada, Louisiana and the English territories. The scale of this map is much larger than the preceding, and it is a fine record of this region.

A well detailed and larger map covering this same territory is that of Robert de Vaugondy,[13] fils, issued in 1750, with the title in French, "Map of the Country known by the name of Canada."

An important map was that of Jeffery's[14] issued in 1755, based upon D'Anville's Map of North America with corrections. It contains several columns of descriptive text engraved in the part depicting the ocean.

Four English maps complete the collection. These are: Kitchin's[15] map of 1763, made after the close of the French and Indian war;

[10]Moll,—Herman—died 1732. Maps with the signature of this English geographer were issued as early as 1700. A notice of his life is given in *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[11]Homann—Johann Baptist—1664-1724—A German map-maker of Nuremberg. His business was later continued by his heirs who issued hundreds of maps. For bibliography of the Homann family see "The Lowrey Collection" (Library of Congress series), pp. 278-280.

[12]Anville—Jean Baptiste Bourguiguon d'—1697-1749—For bibliography concerning his life and works consult *The Lowery Collection* (Library of Congress series), pp. 260-261.

[13]Robert de Vaugondy (fils) Didier—1726-1786—For references to the life of the two Roberts de Vaugondy—father and son—consult Michaud's *Biographie universelle,* vol. 36, pp. 138-139. The father's name was Gilles and he lived between 1688-1766. Phillips' *List of Geographical Atlases* (Library of Congress), p. 350 says: "Many maps are by Robert de Vaugondy, the son, and are dated 1749.

[14]Jefferys—Thomas—1699-1775—An English map-maker of London. Consult *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[15]Kitchin—Thomas—1718-1784.

Pownall's[16] map of 1783, made after the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, which shows the boundary line between the two countries; a map by Blair[17] made in 1790, and one by Laurie[18] and Whittle[19] in 1794.

This collection in its present condition is a very good beginning towards a complete set of characteristic maps which will show the growth of knowledge of leading European nations, during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, of that part of the Western Continent surrounding the Great Lakes.

It will soon receive a considerable addition in photographic reproductions of maps in the French archives, most of which have never before been published.[20]

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[16]Pownall—Thomas—1720-1805—See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[17]Blair—John—F. R. S. and LL. D., died 1782—historian, Priest of church of England, born and educated in Edinburgh. See *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[18]Laurie—Robert H.—1755-1836. Consult *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[19]Whittle—James—died 1818—associated with Robert H. Laurie in the making of maps and atlases.

[20]Since the exhibit, there has been added a fine copy of the famous Mitchell map of 1755 of the British and French dominions in North America. A copy of this map was used by the Peace Commissioners in making the Treaty of 1783 for marking the northern boundary line of the United States.

# THE OLD NORTHWEST.[1]

BY EDWIN O. WOOD.[2]

THE late B. A. Hinsdale, so long associated with the University of Michigan, and to whom the country is indebted for more valuable additions to the published records relating to the Old Northwest than perhaps any other authority, in the preface of his work upon this subject, says:

"Save New England alone, there is no section of the United States embracing several states that is so distinct an historical unit, and that so readily yields to historical treatment, as the Old Northwest. It is the part of the Great West first discovered and colonized by the French. It was the occasion of the final struggle for dominion between France and England in North America. It was the theater of one of the most brilliant and far-reaching military exploits of the Revolution. The disposition to be made of it at the close of the Revolution is the most important territorial question treated in the history of American diplomacy. After the war, the Northwest began to assume a constantly increasing importance in the national history. It is the original public domain, and the part of the West first colonized under the authority of the National Government. It was the first and the most important territory ever organized by Congress. It is the only part of the United States ever under a secondary constitution like the Ordinance of 1787. No other equal part of the Union has made in one hundred years such progress along the characteristic lines of American development."

McCarty in a study in historical administration entitled "The Territorial Governors of The Old Northwest," prefaces his work as follows:

"The Old Northwest occupies a peculiar position in American history. Rich in the traditions of the past, when nations struggled for supremacy along its borders, it was left at the feet of the thirteen original States by the receding waves of the Revolution,—a vast wilderness of boundless resources, waiting for the magic

[1]Read at the midwinter meeting, January, 1913.

[2]Edwin O. Wood of Flint, Mich., was born at Goodrich, Genesee County, Michigan, in 1861. He is a member of Michigan Historical Commission and of the Mackinac Island Board of State Park Commissioners; President National Fraternal Press Association, 1903; President National Fraternal Congress, 1904; Chairman Democratic State Central Committee, 1904; Member Democratic National Committee for Michigan, 1908-1916; Member American Historical Association and life member of the historical societies in the States embracing the Old Northwest Territory; Author of Historic Mackinac and collector of books, manuscripts, maps, and data relating to Michigan and the Old Northwest.

touch of civilization. The original thirteen States were then just beginning to round out into a unified National life. This life was tentative and uncertain at first; but after the critical period had passed it burst out of its old confines and spread over the western country with a joyous abandon that threatened to outstrip the forms and traditions of the old regime.

It was an eminently practical evolution that within a few decades transformed the wilderness of the Old Northwest into the populous and flourishing states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The genesis and early development of the Northwest Territory are, therefore, strategic points from which a correct study of western American institutions and their growth must of necessity begin."

Channing, in his admirable history of the United States, refers to the trip of James Monroe made in 1785, to the westward, where "he was impressed with the 'miserably poor' character of the country, especially of the lands near Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, and in the Illinois valley. Writing to Jefferson, he hazarded the conjecture that this whole region might "never contain enough inhabitants to entitle them to admission to the confederacy as a state. As the number required was that of the inhabitants of the smallest of the original thirteen states, Monroe's appraisement of the capacity of the Old Northwest was not very high, to say the least."

In view of these predictions by President Monroe, it is interesting to pause here and note that from the figures of the census of 1910 shown in an abstract just issued, the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan (not taking into consideration that portion of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi river, and which with the five states enumerated make up what was originally the Northwest Territory) now have a combined population of 18,250,621, or one-fifth of the entire population of the United States, exclusive of our outlying possessions.

The census of 1790, five years subsequent to the trip made to this territory by James Monroe, shows the entire United States to have had a total of less than four million people, while the States carved out of the Northwest Territory alone now has nearly five times that number.

The total population of the United States in 1840 was more than a million less than these five states now have, and Ohio or Illinois each at present has more souls than the entire United States had when President Monroe formed his conclusions.

The latest census groups these five states into one unit or geographic division known as East North Central, and while five great commonwealths have been created, yet in history the original

Northwest Territory must ever remain intact. This census (1910), shows the center of population to be located at the city of Bloomington, Indiana. The census of 1860, 1870, and 1880 found the center of population in Ohio, and for 1890, 1900, and 1910, in Indiana, showing that for fifty years it has remained in what was the Northwest Territory.

So much for the present relative situation of this territory in connection with the country as a whole.

Champlain extended his observations to Lake Huron in 1615, and Neill, in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," gives to Brulé "the undisputed honor of being the first white man to give to the world a knowledge of the region beyond Lake Huron."

In 1634, Jean Nicolet made his way in a frail canoe from Georgian Bay to the northern shores of Lake Huron, and paddling through the Straits of Mackinac, was the first white man to gaze on that now historic section. He discovered Lake Michigan.

Then followed the exploration by the two brothers-in-law, Groseillieres and Radisson, and by Father Menard.

Pierre Boucher in 1663, published a book in Paris containing the following:

"In Lake Superior there is a great island which is fifty leagues in circumference, in which there is a very beautiful mine of copper."

Joliet visited Sault Ste. Marie in 1669. About the same time, Father Allouez had extended his field of operations to Green Bay, he being the first Jesuit missionary to reach that point, although Nicolet had been there thirty-five years before.

In May, 1671, a council was held at Sault Ste. Marie, attended by representatives of the fourteen tribes and by Saint Lusson, Andre, Allouez, Dreuilletes, Claude Dablon, Perrot, Joliet, and a number of French fur-traders.

The starting of Marquette and Joliet from Michillimackinac at about this period upon their memorable trip destined to discover the course of the Mississippi River, marks an event which will grow in history as time goes on.

The first one hundred and fifty years of written history covering Michigan and much of what was the Northwest Territory comes very largely from those noble and courageous men, the Jesuit missionaries.

The Ohio section of The Old Northwest Territory was first

explored by La Salle, about 1680, his purpose being to trade with the Indians rather than to found settlements.

The French and Indian War was brought on by rival claims and the French maintained their right and occupied the country until the conquest of Canada in 1760. The English acquired title to the Ohio country upon the surrender by the French in 1763.

Following the Revolution there were frequent and conflicting opinions among a number of states concerning their rights to the land in this territory. These were finally adjusted when the States ceded to the United States their real or imaginary title, Virginia and Connecticut reserving a total of about seven million acres. In 1800 all jurisdiction was relinquished to the national government, the latter purchasing all Indian titles to the same.

The various claims upon this territory were distributed about as follows: England laid claim to North America by reason of the discoveries of the Cabots and for over fifty years it was a subject of dispute between that country and France, the latter being defeated by 1760. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave to England ownership,—that is, any title which France may have had to the same—of the entire northern and western country which had not already been acquired by her from France through the treaty of 1713. This country was now held by England for twenty years,—until 1783, when the United American Colonies acquired by treaty all of the Northwest which is now a part of the United States.

Another claim to this country had been made by France, upon the discoveries of Cartier, and later, the explorations of Champlain and La Salle.

Virginia already claimed a good part, if not all, of this country, through a patent received from King James I, but finally conveyed it to the United American Colonies.

Massachusetts also claimed a strip of land extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean by virtue of patents from James I in 1620 and from Charles I in 1628. Whatever title was possessed was given to the United American Colonies in 1785.

The Erie Indians had maintained possession of a good part of Ohio before 1655, while the Iroquois Indians, known as the Five Nations, acquired a part of the Ohio Country when they exterminated the Eries in 1655 and in 1726 they had relinquished a strip of land bordering on Lake Erie, to the English.

Other Indian tribes had portions of the Northwest Territory, —some parts being claimed by certain tribes individually, while others were held or claimed in common.

In 1662 Charles II had granted to the colony of Connecticut a strip of land of the same width and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean, and Connecticut laid claim to this land as late as 1786, when she also ceded to the United American Colonies all excepting what became known as the Western Reserve of Connecticut, in northern Ohio.

New York laid claim to some of this territory by reason of Charles II's grant to his brother, James, Duke of York, a strip of land from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, which included the land which had previously been granted to Connecticut. New York relinquished her title to the United Colonies in 1780.

In 1783, following the Revolutionary War, England ceded her right to the territory to the United American Colonies and the Northwest Territory came into possession of all the title which England could give. Then the United States immediately set about acquiring title from the Indians and various individual colonies.

William Stowell Mills, from whose recent book much information has been gathered, classifies the claimants as,—

1. Those whose right was based upon possession, residence, actual occupation.—The American Indians.

2. Those whose claims were founded upon discovery and exploration.—Foreign powers: England and France.

3. Those to whom free grants had been made.—American Colonies: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia; also individual grantees to "Fire Lands."

4. Those whose rights were obtained by treaty.—The United American Colonies and England, whose right was regained from the claim of France.

Returning to the Treaty of Peace signed at Paris, February 10, 1763, between France and England, we quote from Poole, in Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," who states that this treaty "marks perhaps the most important epoch in the political and social history of North America. It settled forever a question which had been in doubt for a century,—whether the rule and civilization of France or Great Britain were to shape the destinies of the western continent. It was the culmination of a seven years' war, in which the vigorous administration of William Pitt had crushed the allied forces of France and Spain. The capture of Quebec by Wolfe, the surrender of the French army to Amherst at Montreal, were but instances of the general humiliation which France and Spain had experienced on the continent of Europe, in India, in the West Indies, and on the ocean. They could fight no

longer and were glad to accept any terms of peace which Great Britain might dictate. The Treaty of Paris made a strange transformation of the political map of North America and for the first time brought under British sway the territory which now comprises the Western States of the American nation. *****

It will be seen that no provision was made for the government of nine-tenths of the new territory acquired by the Treaty of Paris, and the omission was not an oversight but was intentional. The purpose was to reserve as crown lands the Northwest Territory, the region north of the Great Lakes, and the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and to exclude them from settlement by the American Colonies. They were left for the time being to the undisputed possession of the savage tribes. The King's 'loving subjects' were forbidden making purchases of land from the Indians or forming any settlements 'westward of the sources of the rivers which flow into the sea from the West and Northwest.' "

Following the Land Ordinance of the 20th of May, 1785, Thomas Hutchins, who was then Geographer of the United States, which office included also the work of Surveyor-general of the public lands, was detailed to make the first survey of the western country. He was to start at the intersection of the northern bank of the Ohio River with the western boundary of Pennsylvania, running a base line known as a geographer's line, due west. Every six miles apart north and south lines were to divide the territory into seven ranges. Lines six miles apart, east and west, were to divide the ranges into townships. There were to be thirty-six sections, each one mile square, in each township. Lot numbered sixteen of each township was to be reserved for the maintenance of the public schools within that township and there were also reservations for Indians and refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia. With these reservations, the balance of the land was to be sold at auction for not less than one dollar per acre, to which was to be added the cost of making the survey. However, before any were sold under this plan, Congress had already authorized the sale of large tracts to companies or syndicates, at a much lower price.

While it may be somewhat disconnected, yet perhaps here is as good a place as any to insert a letter found in "Sketches of America" by Fearon, who made an application to the General Land Office, asking a price on a tract of forty thousand acres in the Northwest Territory. The letter, written in 1817, reads as follows:

GENERAL LAND OFFICE.

SIR:

In reply to your letter: I have to say, that the public lands north-west of the river Ohio are sold at two dollars per acre, payable one-fourth cash; one-fourth in two years; one-fourth in three years; one-fourth in four years. A discount of eight per cent per annum for prompt payment reduces the cash price to one dollar and sixty-four cents per acre. If the installments are not all paid within five years, the land is offered at public sale; if it brings more than the principal and interest due the United States, the surplus is paid to the original purchaser; if the principal and interest is not bid, the land reverts to the United States, and the monies paid on account are forfeited.

These are the terms of sale without respect to persons or quantity.

I am very respectfully,
Sir,
Your obedient servant,
JOSIAH MEIGS.

Mr. Henry Fearon,
At Mrs. Lindsay's, Washington.

Hutchins died in 1789, and Rufus Putnam became the first surveyor-general under the Act of 1796 and was directed to complete the survey of a certain part of this western territory.

In 1783 the Ohio Company of Associates was formed as a result of a movement to acquire western lands for the soldiers of the Revolution. The leading spirits of the new Company were General Samuel H. Parsons, of Connecticut; General Rufus Putnam, of Massachusetts and Manassah Cutler, a Massachusetts clergyman.

Avery states that "at this time The Old Northwest Territory, a territory larger than the German empire, was practically an unbroken wilderness. The French at Vincennes, Kaskaskia and elsewhere, numbering probably fewer than five thousand, a few settlers at New Design on the Mississippi, a few Moravian missionaries, a few hunters, squatters and soldiers, were its only civilized inhabitants."

McMaster writes that "the rapidity with which hamlets and settlements in the Ohio Valley grew to towns and cities has no parallel in the history of America, unless, indeed, it be in California, where the growth and development was due to unusual and exceptional causes."

In the few years following the settlements made under the guidance of General Putnam and his associates, hundreds of settlers were killed by the Indians. Many interesting accounts of

such incidents may be found in Mr. Roosevelt's "The Winning of the West."

Ever indelibly written in the history of this territory will be the names of George Rogers Clark and General Rufus Putnam.

The vast area which constituted the Northwest Territory, contained a total of 265,878 square miles, being much larger than either Germany or France and more than twice the size of Great Britain. Of the five and a fraction states, Michigan is the largest, having 56,451 square miles.

Nearly three hundred years have elapsed since Jean Nicolet passed through the Straits of Mackinac and the development of the Great Lakes country during that time has been marvelous. The one-hundredth anniversary of the great victory on Lake Erie is to be celebrated this year.

A more fertile field for historical research and study has never been presented than the Old Northwest and one of the brightest stars in war and in peace has been our own state. To know of the Old Northwest is to learn of Michigan, and to master the history of the Wolverine State is to gather from the rich store of the first territory its most interesting events.

# THE TEACHING OF MICHIGAN HISTORY.

BY CLAUDE S. LARZELERE.

SEVERAL questions will at once arise in the mind of the teacher who is interested in the teaching of state history. Has local and state history educational value? Has it interest for boys and girls, and, if so, at what age? Where can suitable material be obtained? And how can time for it be found?

While it is true that so far as government is concerned the individual states are playing a relatively less and less important role and that nationalism is growing even under a Democratic administration, it is not desirable, it seems to me, that state pride should be lost or that interest in the neighborhood should not be stimulated. It is rather unfortunate that voters should be more interested in the election of a president than in that of a governor or a mayor. The local health officer more vitally affects our everyday life than the secretary of state, and the enforcement of the truancy law is of greater importance than the Mexican question. There is not much danger of an undue development or provincialism in these days.

The study of local history is good for the development of the historical spirit. By its study the pupil can easily be made to see how institutions have developed, how present conditions have grown out of the past. He can be brought face to face with historical material. He can make use of the sources in their most valuable and interesting form. He can gain experience in investigation and the collection of material and "obtain the best training that history has for him in accuracy, the nice weighing of evidence, the sympathetic interpretation of the past."

In the next place, through the study of local and state history the pupil may be led to understand and interpret more easily and fully historical events and movements of a more general character. For example, the life of the early settlers in the pupil's town or county will be typical of pioneer life in general; the movement of people into the pupil's vicinity will illustrate well the general westward movement of population; the varieties of nationality in the school or community will show the composite character of the population of the United States. To have its greatest educational

value, local and state history should not be isolated but should be connected with and put into the proper relationship to the more general history of the country.

There is much in the history of any state, certainly in that of Michigan, that can be made of interest and profit to children of school age. In fact, there is an abundance of material that is suitable for children in the elementary school, for pupils in the high school, and even for students in the college and university.

What child in the lower grades, at that age when myths strongly appeal to him and are of value to him, would not be interested in the many Indian legends connected with various parts of the state? Take this one, for example, which accounts for the islands of the St. Clair and Detroit rivers:

Sleeping Bear, a great manitou, who lived on the point of land named after him on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, had a daughter of such beauty that he was afraid she would be stolen. He, therefore, put her into a box which he sank in the lake, tying it with a long rope to a stake on the shore. Every day the father would draw the box to shore and feed and caress his child.

The South Wind was passing one day while the maiden was upon the shore and he tarried to woo her. While he stayed, the beautiful Indian summer prevailed throughout the region. But the North Wind and the West Wind also heard of the beautiful girl and they, too, came to woo her. A fierce rivalry soon arose among the winds which resulted in a terrible storm. So violent was the tempest that the rope holding the box which contained the maiden was broken and the box floated down to the lodge of the Prophet, the Keeper of the Gates of the Lakes, who lived at the outlet of Lake Huron, who made her his bride.

Sleeping Bear was angry at this and caused a mighty tempest to arise which swept away the lodge of the Prophet and the land on which it stood. Out of the land thus carried away were formed the numerous islands which may be seen in the St. Clair and Detroit rivers. The Prophet was drowned and buried beneath Peche Island, to which the Ottawa warriors used to resort in order to consult his spirit.

The box in which the maiden had lived was broken up and out of its fragments was formed Belle Isle, upon which the beauty lived forever after. Her father, in order to guard her and prevent any further trouble, placed many rattlesnakes upon the island as her guardians to keep off all intruders.

The early French explorers, stimulated at the sight of pieces of

copper and by stories told by the Indians, were anxious to find the sources of supply. The Indians doubtless knew where the copper beds were located on Isle Royal and on the southern shore of Lake Superior, but they were loth to give information on the subject as they were superstitious about the matter, believing that the manitous, or spirits, guarded the copper deposits and would punish them if they revealed their location to the white men.

In these days when copper is such an important product and when strikes in the copper country occupy so much space in the newspapers, the following legend might be of interest: The Indians told the Frenchmen that copper had first been discovered by four hunters, who had landed, one day, on an island in the northern part of the lake. Desiring to cook their food, they placed it in some water in a vessel made of bark, and, according to their custom, gathered stones and after heating them red hot dropped them into the dish of water. After awhile they noticed that the stones were composed of pure copper. As soon as they had eaten, they hastened to their canoe to set out, as they were afraid of the hares and lynxes, which grew as large as dogs on this island, and which, they were afraid, would eat up their food and perhaps their canoe also.

They gathered a few of the wonderful stones to take with them; but hardly had they left the island when a deep voice like thunder was heard over the waves, "Who are these thieves who steal the toys of my children?" It was the powerful manitou of the lake calling to them. The hunters hastened away as fast as they could paddle. Three of them died before they reached land, while the fourth lived only long enough to get back to his village and tell of their adventure. The island upon which they had found the strange metal had no foundation, according to the Indians, but floated about with the movement of the winds and waves. No one had dared to land on its shores since the four hunters were there because of the wrath of the manitou.

This, of course, is not history, but such legends may well pave the way with young children for history stories, which may be supplied in abundance from the history of the state.

Can you imagine that a child would not be interested in the story of the two priests, Dollier and Galinee, who pushed up the Detroit River in their birch-bark canoes and landed one day, in 1670, near the place where Detroit now stands? Here they found a large stone roughly resembling a human figure. The Indians had daubed it with red paint and worshipped it as a manitou.

About it were scattered offerings of tobacco, maple sugar, and different kinds of food. This idol was held in great veneration by the savages. They believed that it was his voice that they heard when the winds blew over the Lakes, and that he controlled the winds and caused them to blow or not to blow as he wished.

In some way the priests connected this device of the devil, as they considered it, with misfortunes which had befallen them. They believed that it stood in the way of carrying Christianity to the heathen. "After the loss of our altar service," wrote Galinee, "and the hunger we had suffered, there was not a man of us who was not filled with hatred against this false deity. I devoted one of my axes to breaking him in pieces; and then, having fastened our canoes side by side, we carried the largest piece to the middle of the river, and threw it, with all the rest, into the water, that he might never be heard of again. God rewarded us immediately for this good action, for we killed a deer and a bear that same day."

The Indians had a legend that after the missionaries had departed a band of red men arrived to place their offerings at the foot of the idol. They could find only small pieces of it scattered about. These they carefully collected and placed in their canoes. As they were about to depart, they heard a deep voice sounding over the water which directed them to the place where the manitou had taken refuge upon what is now called Belle Isle. Here they were told to scatter the fragments of the idol. No sooner was it done than the pieces of stone were changed into rattlesnakes, which were to be sentinels to guard the home of the manitou from the invasion of the white man.

At the age when children are hungry for stories of adventure, what would please them better than accounts of the doings of French explorers, missionaries, fur traders, and *coureurs de bois* in the region of the Great Lakes? Marquette, La Salle, and Cadillac are as attractive heroes and of as much historical importance to us in the Old Northwest as Captain John Smith, Miles Standish, or William Penn.

Would not some "punch" be added to the study of the transfer of French territory to the English at the close of the French and Indian War by reading how Major Rogers took possession of Detroit in the name of his Brittanic Majesty?

Rogers was one of the most noted Indian fighters of those days. This description of him would catch the interest of the boys at once: "He wore a close-fitting jacket, a warm cap, coarse woolen

trousers, leggings, and moccasins. A hatchet was thrust into his belt, a powder-horn hung at his side, a long, keen hunting-knife, and a trusty musket completed his armament; and a blanket and a knapsack stuffed with bread and raw salt pork, together with a flask of spirits, made up his outfit. He could speak to the Indian or the Frenchman in a language they could understand; he knew every sign of the forest, every wile of his foes, and repeatedly his bravery and coolness had brought him safely through the most critical situation. He lifted a scalp with as little compunction as did any Indian, and counted it the most successful warfare to creep into an Indian encampment by night, to set fire to the lodges, and to make his escape by the light of the flames, with the screams of the doomed savages rejoicing in his ears." (Moore, *The Northwest under Three Flags,* 103).

At the head of his "Rangers," famous for the part they had taken in Indian warfare, Rogers drew near to Detroit and sent a messenger to ask for its surrender. The French commander was disposed to resist at first and he tried to stir up the Indians against the English. He even put upon the flag-staff a wooden image of Rogers' head, upon which was perched a crow, to represent himself, scratching out the brains of the British leader.

Convinced, however, by a letter from the French governor in Canada which was sent to him by Rogers that the French cause was hopeless, and finding that the Indians would not fight on his side, the commander surrendered on the 29th of November, 1760. His soldiers were marched out upon the plain surrounding the fort, where they laid down their arms, while the Indians jeered in derision, tauntingly shouting that Rogers must be the crow and the French commander the victim. The lilies of France, which had been floating over Detroit since 1701, were hauled down from the flag-staff of Fort Pontchartrain and the red cross of St. George was raised in their place.

For the boy in the blood-and-thunder stage what a galaxy of good stories are furnished by Pontiac's Conspiracy. These, as told by Parkman, might well be used to supplant the "penny-dreadful" and "nickel-library" which the boy will read at this age unless something better is given him. Hamilton, "the hair-buyer," and his capture by George Rogers Clarke, the defeat of St. Clair and the victories of Wayne, Hull's surrender, the battle of the Raisin River, Perry's victory, and Tecumseh furnish more material of the same kind.

How little do the graduates of our schools realize that the state

in which they live was for so long a part of France and that it had a narrow escape from remaining a part of Canada! We do teach that the British held several forts in the Northwest long after the Treaty of 1783 and that Jay's Treaty secured their surrender. But how much more real would this seem to the pupils if they could have placed before them the following picture of the raising of the stars and stripes for the first time above Detroit, as given by a historian of the Old Northwest:

"Sailing up to the great wooden wharf," the detachment of American soldiers that had been sent for the purpose "disembarked, and marched up one of the narrow, unpaved streets, with its footway of squared logs laid transversely, thence through one of the two gates on the water side of the strong stockade, and through the town and up the slope" to the fort that had been built by the British when it was feared that George Rogers Clarke would attack Detroit.

"As the troops passed up the street, crowds of barefooted Frenchmen greeted them in a language they did not understand, and bevies of dark-eyed French girls gazed demurely from under the wide brims of their straw hats, anxious to discover whether the homespun-clad newcomers were fitted to take the place of the gorgeous-hued soldiers and sailors whom the fate of war had sent away. Nor were Indians wanting; old squaws, leading their daughters, leered at the soldiers; chiefs and warriors of many tribes, hideous in their paint and more hideous in the wounds received in drunken orgies, moved about with what dignity they could command, or sat in the sun smoking their stone pipes, waiting for General Wabanz (General To-morrow) to distribute the presents he was ever promising and never bestowing.

"At the hour of noon the last of England's troops made their way to the ramparts, and, loosing the halyards, the flag that for thirty-four years had floated over the town of Cadillac's foundation dropped slowly to the ground. While the British soldiers gathered up the dishonored ensign, eager Americans bent the Stars and Stripes, and as the joyous folds of the beautiful banner streamed out on the July breeze a cheer went up from the little band of United States soldiers, whose feet at last trod the soil made theirs by the conquest of Clarke, seventeen years before." (Moore, *The Northwest Under Three Flags,* 373-4.)

It might add interest and value to the discussion of the invention of the steamboat and its effect upon our industrial and social history to call attention to the first steamboat upon Lake Erie, the

Walk-in-the-Water, bringing in such incidents, as that it was not powerful enough to get out into Lake Erie against the current of Niagara River, where it was built, and so was hauled out by sixteen yoke of oxen, a "horned breeze" as it was called; and that the Indians had been told "that a great ship drawn by sturgeons was to make its appearance in the Detroit River, and when the steamer glided up the stream without any visible means of progress, the red men swarmed along the shore and filled the air with their noisy shouts of wonder," and when it blew off steam, many of them ran off to the woods greatly frightened. A topic worthy of investigation might be the effect of the invention of the steamboat upon the settlement and development of the region about the Great Lakes. It would also be worth while to compare the "Walk-in-the-Water" with the giant boats of the Lakes today and show the importance of the traffic which they carry on.

How boys and girls love a hero! And how they would admire the heroism of Lewis Cass as shown in the following incident, and how much light would be thrown upon the character of the Indians and upon their relation to the British and to the Americans by it! Cass had gone to the "Soo" to obtain possession of a tract of land which had formerly been granted to the French and which the Indians had acknowledged by treaty to belong now to the Americans. "The braves, evidently restless and out of humor," writes Professor McLaughlin, "assembled to meet the Americans. Arrayed in their best attire, and many of them adorned with British medals, they seated themselves with even more than their wonted solemnity and dignity, and prepared to hear what Governor Cass desired. At first pretending not to know of any French grants, they finally intimated that our government might be permitted to occupy the place if we did not use it as a military station. The governor, perceiving that their independence and boldness verged on impudence and menace, answered decisively that as surely as the 'rising sun would set, so surely would there be an American garrison sent to that point, whether they received the grant or not.' The excitement which had been ready to break forth now displayed itself. The chiefs disputed among themselves, some evidently counseling moderation, others favoring hostilities. A tall and stately-looking chieftain, dressed in a British uniform with epaulets, lost patience with moderation and delay. Striking his spear into the ground, he drew it forth again, and, kicking away the presents that lay scattered about, strode in high dudgeon out of the assembly.

"The Indian camp was on a small hill a few hundred yards from that of the Americans. The dissatisfied chiefs went directly to their lodges, and in a moment a British flag was flying in the very faces of the little company of white men. The soldiers were at once ordered under arms. Everyone expected an immediate attack, for the Indians, greatly outnumbering the Americans, had not disguised their insolence and contempt. In an instant Governor Cass took his resolution. Rejecting the offers of those who volunteered to accompany him, with no weapon in his hands and only his interpreter beside him, he walked straight to the middle of the Indian camp, tore down the British flag, and trampled it under his feet. Then addressing the astonished and even panic-stricken braves, he warned them that two flags of different nations could not fly over the same territory, and should they raise any but the American flag, the United States would put its strong foot upon them and crush them. He then turned upon his heel and walked back to his own tent, carrying the British ensign with him. An hour of indecision among the Indians ensued. Their camp was quickly cleared of women and children, an indication that a battle was in immediate prospect. The Americans, looking to their guns, listened for the war-whoop and awaited attack. But the intrepidity of Governor Cass had struck the Indians with amazement. It showed a rare knowledge of Indian character, of which his own companions had not dreamed. Subdued by the boldness and decision of this action, the hostile chiefs forgot their swaggering confidence, and in a few hours signed the treaty which had been offered them."

We talk much in general terms in our American history classes about the western movement of population. All too seldom do we take actual typical cases of emigrants moving to the West by way of the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, by the Cumberland Road and the Ohio River, or by other routes, bringing out the actual life on the road. By the study of the early settlement of our state we may often catch the spirit and enthusiasm of this westward movement in a way that cannot be done by a general treatment of the subject.

For instance, "By 1837," says a writer, "it seemed as if all New England were coming to the state (of Michigan). The fever for emigration pervaded the whole region from Rhode Island to Vermont, and everyone seemed to have adopted for his own the popular song, 'Michigania.' The first verse runs thus:

'Come, all ye Yankee farmers who wish to change your lot,
Who've spunk enough to travel beyond your native spot,
And leave behind the village where Pa and Ma do stay,
Come follow me and settle in Michigania,—
Yea, yea, yea, in Michigania!' "

No wonder that settlers poured into our territory when its praises were sung in this fashion:

"Know ye the land to the emigrant dear,
Where the wild flower is blooming one-half the year;
Know ye the land of the billow and breeze,
That is pois'd like an isle, amid fresh-water seas;
Whose forests are ample, whose prairies are fine,
Whose soil is productive, whose climate benign?
Remote from extremes—neither torrid nor cold,
'Tis the land of the sickle, the plough, and the fold;
'Tis a region no eye e'er forgets or mistakes;
'Tis the land for improvement—the land of the lakes.

"To you, then, I turn—and I turn without fears,
Ye hardy explorers, ye bold pioneers;
Ye vot'ries of Ceres, with industry blest,
Whose hopes are still high, and whose course is still west;
Ye men of New England—ye emigrant race,
Who meditate change, and are scanning the place;
Who dig and who delve, on estates not your own,
Where an acre of land is an acre of stone;
Oh! quit your cold townships of granite, or brakes,
And hie with delight to the land of the lakes."

Or who could resist this siren song:

"My eastern friends who wish to find
A country that will suit your mind,
Where comforts all are near at hand,
Had better come to Michigan.

"Here is the place to live at ease,
To work or play, just as you please;
With little prudence any man
Can soon get rich in Michigan.

"We here have soils of various kinds
To suit men who have different minds,
Prairies, openings, timbered land
And burr oak plains, in Michigan.

"Our water's good, there's no mistake,
Springs, rivers, brooks, and little lakes
Will all be seen by any man
Who travels through our Michigan.

"You who would wish to hunt and fish
Can find all kinds of game you wish;
Our deer and turkey they are grand,
Our fish are good in Michigan.

"Ye who have led a single life
And now would wish to get a wife,
I tell you this, now understand,
We have first-rate girls in Michigan."

What interesting pictures of frontier life may be obtained from stories told by early settlers in our own state! How vividly do they bring before us the work of clearing away the forest, the buildings of the log cabin, the breaking up of the land, sometimes with several yoke of oxen attached to the plow! How we realize some of the troubles of the pioneers when an old settler tells us that millions of mosquitoes, fleas, and bed bugs "were annoying and sucking the life's blood out of us every night. These infernals," he says, "would get into the cracks and crevices of the log castles, and nothing but hell-fire and brimstone would remove them. We dared not resort to that extreme remedy for fear of burning the castle."

And the bite of some of these insects was more than an annoyance, it was a serious menace to health. The bite of the mosquito, bred in countless numbers in the undrained swamps, undoubtedly caused the terrible malaria, the so-called ague or chills-and-fever, which was so prevalent. How we realize the seriousness of the scourge and what an insight into the darker side of pioneer life we get when we read such an incident as this, told by an early settler:

"A family of three—man, woman, and child—were helplessly sick about one mile from us. In the night the child died. They fired alarm guns for assistance, but no assistance came, as there were none able to be out nights, and very few in day time. Three of

us, then boys, were enlisted to conduct their funeral for them. We three were the undertaker, preacher, sexton, and funeral procession all together. So we buried their dead 'without a funeral note or gospel word spoken,' and left them in their helpless condition, as we three looked more like escapes from a graveyard than living human beings."

But there was a brighter side to pioneer life. House-raisings, log-rollings, and husking-bees were made occasions for neighbors to get together for merry-making as well as for labor. After the work was done, athletic contests and horse races took place; and, commencing in the evening, to the music of the squeaking fiddle, young and old continued to dance until well toward morning, when they would "hook up" their teams and return home.

A study of early railroading in our state takes the pupil directly into the history of transportation in the United States. Stories of lumbering and log-driving on our rivers interest the pupil in one of the great industries of our country. A Michigan forest fire leads into the big subject of conservation of natural resources. Attempted Fenian raids from Michigan into Canada gets one into close touch with the relations between England and Ireland, home rule, and the Ulster trouble. King Strang of the Beaver Islands reminds us of the Mormons. A study of the working of the underground railroad and stories of attempts to capture runaway slaves within the borders of our state, of which there are several interesting ones, would bring home to the pupil the workings of the Second Fugitive Slave Law more effectively than a lot of general discussion.

Many topics can be found in our state history well suited for special reports or papers by high school students and even worthy of serious investigation by students in the colleges and the University. A few such topics that might be suggested are the personal liberty laws passed to protect fugitive slaves, liquor legislation, the suffrage, history of political parties in the state, "wildcat" banking, the negro in Michigan, the "copper fever" of 1845, the history of the various religious denominations, how the state got its boundaries, the part played by the state in the Civil War, the history of railroad building, the school system, and many other topics in our political, economic, social, and religious development.

How to obtain time for the study of state history is the problem. In states west of the Alleghanies, less time might be given in the schools to the study of the history of the Thirteen Colonies, valuable as it is. Much, however, may be accomplished by connecting

local and state history with the general history of the country as has been suggested above. In this way each will help the other. Topics in state history might well be assigned for papers and special reports in the American history class.

There is considerable good material for this work. Besides the various histories of the state and of the Old Northwest there are the works of Parkman and Schoolcraft and other writers, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society Collections, and for research work, local and state records. Anything like a complete bibliography would occupy considerable space.

# A JUNIOR PIONEER LEAGUE FOR MICHIGAN.

BY ELEANOR GRIFFIN MC NETT.[1]

WHO doesn't love a story, a story that sends delicious, little crinkly thrills running up and down one's spine? What average boy or girl isn't eager for stories of bears, "bob-cats," Indians, hair-breadth escapes, "barn-raisin's," "corn husk-in's", and other exciting events belonging to the old pioneer days?

Picture Grandmother,—placid, sunny, wrinkled Grandmother—as a slender slip of a young thing in her teens, white with terror, "back-firing" the virgin prairie sod. Picture her saving the barn, the stock, the hard-won home, from the fierce, devouring prairie fire, that dread of the old-time homesteader. Then imagine Father, as a baby asleep in the cradle, while miles away, yet in sight of those billows of flame which are rushing faster than a horse can gallop, rides Grandfather spurring his mount for dear life.

Then there is the story from the other side of the family. It tells us how Great Aunt Jerusha, alone in the house, with two of her family raving with fever, barred the door with her right arm, when a stalwart, six-footer of an Indian, who had taken too much fire water, demanded admittance. He apparently appreciated her courage, for he finally grunted "Heap brave squaw," and solemnly stalked away. Next day, a fine, plump pheasant lay on the door step. Wasn't that chivalry?

Yes, indeed, we all, old or young, love a good story, and a really good story will bear retelling. We like also to see the place where something out of the ordinary has happened, where brave deeds were done, and we like to steep ourselves in the atmosphere of the scene. The pressure of modern life is so swift, we Americans live so much in today, that the yesterdays are often forgotten. The builders of the yesterdays, are fast dropping out of the ranks, the dear,

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old white-haired Grandfathers and Grandmothers, who laid the foundations of present achievement.

Now, why wouldn't it be a bright, splendid idea to form a Junior Pioneer League, in which every cross-roads, village, town and city in Michigan might participate, a lively, up-to-date society of boys and girls, to dig and delve in clean garrets and among musty boxes and barrels, in dusty attics, and neglected barn lofts. Precious kernels of information, respecting the dress, manners, customs and happenings of the past, may be gleaned from mildewed pamphlets, yellow stained newspapers, and old family letters, written when correspondence was one of the polite arts, and gentle leisure had sway.

Busy, helpful little pioneers, with love's divining rod, probing the springs of information, that lie deeply buried under the crust of years, in the memories of the old residents. High time, ere the "silver cord be loosed," and the important fact, the keystone of the arch, the missing link to correct error and complete the chain of history, be lost forever.

Some old pioneer can tell you when the town was first surveyed, and who gave the streets their names, and why. You never thought of that before. Just look at the map of your own state and run over the names of the counties. It will set you thinking.

To Schoolcraft, who loved the Indian character, we owe much. More than any other writer, he tried to perpetuate the memory of the aboriginal, first settlers, and to him, is due the fact, that many of the counties of Michigan rejoice in fitting, melodious Indian appellations.—"Shi-a-was-see, Leel-an-au, Os-ce-o-la, Ot-ta-wa, Mus-ke-gon." Can you not fairly hear the murmuring Mus-ke-gon, rippling through the forests of aromatic pine, spicy hemlock and drooping tamarack, to its goal among the yellow sands of the "shining, big seawater" of Lake Michigan?

The liquid, musical vowels weave pictures of limpid pools, where the trout rise to the fly; and of sylvan shades where the deer lurk at noon; and of the simple life of the native children of the soil.

Now, if you are an inquisitive, little Wolverine, you may ask why seven of our counties have names with a flavor of the Emerald Isle? Oh, that's easy, when you know! 'T'was a broth of a boy from the ould sod, filling one of the seats of the mighty, that plucked opportunity by the horns. Emmett, and the home-land, are perpetuated forever among the lake sown, pine forests of the Peninsular State.

Do you realize that the land which comprises the State of Mich-

igan, has paid allegiance to the flags of four, foreign nations? For besides the lilies of France, and the cross of St. George, and the Stars and Stripes, the proud Spanish flag once floated over old Fort Saint Joseph. The patriotic women of Niles, have commemorated this historic spot by a huge boulder. Do you know that the very farm on which you live may be recorded on the quaint parchment deeds of the great land grants, once owned by lords and ladies of high degree?

National Junior Pioneer League! Doesn't it sound quite as grand and grown up, as the "Old Pioneer Boys," who have their anniversary dinners, suppers and picnics. They—these old pioneers —are quite set up and top-loftical. Well—they had their time of rough sledding, bumping out of the sloughs, over the corduroy roads, following the blazed trails.

Here is a grace, said when three, hungry, home-seekers, after an all day's tramp, stopped at a rude, log tavern at Yankee Springs in "36."

"Here we are, three of us,
Only pork enough for two of us.
Thank the Lord, there are no more of us!"

Meekly, and humbly, you must comport yourself, when you are told—"Nothin' happens nowadays like the good, old times," Why, youngsters, things don't taste as they used to do, out of the old brick oven;—pan-dowdy, for instance;—and there's no biscuits, like those baked over hot coals in a skillet!

We understand! The zest of hunger is lacking,—the zest that came from swinging the axe and ploughing the furrow;—that piquant sauce that no culinary triumph of the chef can equal. If you ever have a chance to listen, when these same Old Boys foregather, to compare notes, you'll have more fun to the square inch, than you ever dreamed of.

Now, if you go to school at "Miller's Centre," and there is another nice, little, red school house, with a flag floating over it, at "Miller's Hill" or "Trout Run," or "Salt Hollow," be neighborly. I once knew a distinguished army officer, who averred he never passed a little, country, red school house without taking off his hat—for the power of it, the far reaching influence. Still wider opportunities, are offered today, by the opening of these red school houses, as social centers.

Exchange your stories—exchange your old pioneers. Find out all about your state flower—your state cognomen—your state mot-

to. Live up to your privileges. Why at these meetings, you can brush up old ideas and find new ones thicker than blackberries in August. Wind up with patriotic songs. The more you realize what your forebears have been through, the prouder you will be of your heritage, as a live, growing young American.

You can surely coax some "Old Sargent Tim," or "Abe Martin" to tell of their personal experiences in the Civil War, even if they are a bit shaky on their pins. You youngsters, whose homes are near the scenes of where Indian battles have been fought, can be on the quivive to write of these by-gone happenings of intense local interest. Quivive, means, Johnny-on-the-spot. Then, when you wear a muffler, and sport a cane, and lose your spectacles, you can pass this information on to the curly heads that plead with you for "A true war story, please, Grandfather."

Practically unchanged in movement, identical in form, Indian legends descend from generation to generation. Word for word, gesture for gesture, they are repeated by the medicine man, or the wise, old woman, by the camp-fire. Like children, the race loves to hear the same tales over and over and over again. In the same manner, the folk-stories of the Hindoos, Arabs, Egyptians, the lurid myths of the Scandanavian world—the motifs of the Wagner Operas—and the darky dialect tales "Br'er Rabbitt" and his kin have come down unchanged to our day.

There's no time to lose, begin right away, the work of organizing an energetic, wide awake, National Junior Pioneer League. Call a meeting for next week. Elect a President, a Secretary with the pen of a ready writer, and a Treasurer.—Don't swamp the society with officers,—someone might ask, "Where are the privates?" Make the dues small. An initiation fee of ten cents, and weekly dues of three cents will be plenty, and they are to be applied to the needs of your own chapter. You will have donations later. Just show what you are made of. Maybe Mother will let you have a fudge frolic, the first meeting, just to break the stiffness and make everybody feel acquainted.

Then do a little practical work. Find out how far into the past the titles of your land aud that of the adjoining homesteads extend, and whether there are any interesting facts connected with previous ownership. Inquire as to who laid out your own street and gave it a name,—that street in front of your house, that you have ridden up and down a hundred times in your auto, on your bicycle or on shank's mare, without giving its history a thought. Logically, the local history, sectionalized, of village, town, city, county and state will follow.

Won't it be just a splendid thing to do! Think of the material for school essays ready to hand! You know how you rack your brains sometimes for a theme. Of course you will be painstaking and try to use very correct English, and cultivate neat and legible handwriting. Be very polite, too, in interviewing your elders. This will be an excellent preparatory school for future journalists and reporters.

Why not plan an Old and Young Settlers' picnic, or a Harvest Home, or a Mid-Winter entertainment when the farm folks have time, and the evenings are long? Of course, we want a rousing Fourth of July program for 1915, the day of days, for Young America. Why, the Junior Pioneer League can furnish material to insure a sane Fourth that will make everybody wake up.

Oh, that glorious Fourth of July proposition! It is one long string of possibilities. And bear in loving remembrance the old residents, sometimes poor, sometimes neglected people, who passively see the young generation have good times, but are often left out.

Your Secretary must be provided with a large, blank book for enrolling the list of members, for keeping records of meetings and for preserving old-time stories and odd bits of information. He will become so interested that the first thing he knows the book will be full. He will just have to buy a new one. Perhaps sister Mary or Ellen, may be elected Secretary instead of Tom or Ned.

A badge? Why wouldn't a little, blue rosette be just the things? Blue signifies truth And the truth of things, is what we would gather from the old pioneers.

Archives? Yes, it would be a good idea to set apart a shelf or cupboard, exclusively devoted to the interests of the new Junior Pioneer League. Later, valuable relics may be bestowed upon a prudent, care-taking society. Someone may lend an unused room. When an enterprise of this kind gets started, it is like a big snowball rolling down hill. It will gather ideas, help, praise, by the way. Only snow-balls melt in summer. Conserve yours, with an ice cream festival on the "Fourth."

Just the other day, the boys and girls of Ionia, Michigan, under the direction of their teachers, did noble work along this line of pioneer research. They brought to life again the founding of the city, which took place eighty years ago. A most interesting festival for awakening local enthusiasm, portrayed in six scenes the passing of the aborigine and the progress of civilization. They were given an open air setting on the Union School lawn and were as follows:

Scene 1, Indian Village; Scene 2, Trading Post; Scene 3, Coming of the White Man; Scene 4, Pioneer life; Scene 5, Pioneer District School; Scene 6, Old Fourth of July. Such a program could be duplicated in every town.

For an "Old Pioneer" winter evening entertainment, have a stage fitted up as an old fashioned kitchen. Find a crane if possible. Light the scene with brass candle sticks on the mantel, and have a pair of bellows handy. Place some old pewter on the sideboard and some of the old blue and white dishes, will lend a festive air. Most interesting relics could be gathered together for the occasion by energetic Leaguers. It would add greatly to have those taking part dressed in old fashioned costume. Don't forget a Grandmother at her spinning wheel, with her foot on a wodden cradle. Here's hoping to the new Junior Pioneer League.

# THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MICHIGAN HISTORY.

BY WILBUR O. HEDRICK, PH. D.

THE distinguished scholar and publicist, James Bryce, declares in his masterly work on the American Commonwealth that "it might have been expected that in most of the States, or at least of the older States, persons would have been found to write State histories. But this has been done in comparatively few instances so that the European inquirer finds a scanty measure of the assistance which he would naturally have expected from previous laborers in this field. "I call it a field," he says, "it is rather a primeval forest, where the vegetation is rank, and through which scarcely a trail has been cut." Since the publication of this admirable treatise in 1885 much has been done to remedy the defects of which the distinguished author complains.

A whole army of young historians have found their materials for professional expression in the circumstances of State history or even in the episodes of some neighborhood locality with which they were acquainted. The apothem of Emerson has been acted upon by these young scholars, if not formally accepted, that "the first step of worthiness will be to disabuse us of our superstitious associations with place and times, with number and size. Why should these words, Athenian, Roman, Asia, and England, so tingle in the ear? Massachusetts, Connecticut River, and Boston Bay, you think paltry places. But let us feel that where the heart is, there the muses, there the gods sojourn, and not in any geography of fame."

The example of a Burns in literature or of a Millais in art in celebrating the common things of life, the local and the well known has been followed by this new school; and we now have monographs upon frontier circumstances, financial problems, social betterment movements, political squabbles and race questions, from every quarter of the Union.

The fostering of this new line of achievement has been usually in the hands of some university, although State libraries and historical commissions have done notable work. Recently the Carnegie Institution has made significant progress in the matter of collecting the sources for this sort of history; the departments of the

various governments of the land have never been wholly oblivious to the value of historical records; and, finally, private historical societies and private individuals have done much to bring this folk-history before the public.

The trend in historical study here exemplified is plainly a part of a much larger movement in the world of ideas which began about the middle of the last century and which has had for its purpose the entire redirection of historical study and research. The scope and aims and spirit of this new history is nowhere better presnted than by Macaulay in his famous introduction to the "History of England," in which he proposes to write a history "which should not merely treat of battles and sieges, of the rise and fall of administrations, of intrigues in the palace and of debates in parliament, but should relate the history of the people as well as the history of their governments; should trace the progress of the useful and ornamental arts, describe the rise of religious sects and changes of literary taste, should portray the manners of successive generations and should not pass by with neglect even the revolutions which have taken place in dress, furniture, repasts and public amusements." "The time is approaching," says Carlyle, "when History will be attempted on quite other principles; when the Court, the Senate, and the Battlefield, receding more and more into the background, the Temple, the Workshop, and Social Hearth will advance more and more into the foreground, and History will not content itself with shaping some answer to that question: 'How were men taxed and kept quiet then?' but will seek to answer this other infinitely wider and higher question: 'How and what were men then?' Not our Government only, or the House wherein our life was led, but the Life itself we led there, will be inquired into."

"It is the present," says John Morley, "which interests us; it is the present we seek to explain and understand. I do not in the least care to know what happened in the past except as it enables me to see my way more clearly through what is happening today. I want to know what men thought and did in the Thirteenth Century, not out of any dilletante or idle antiquarian interest, but because the Thirteenth Century is at the root of what men think and do in the Nineteenth."

The volumes of McMaster in this country and of Green in England, exemplify in tangible form the conceptions of this school of historians. The demand for a history that should be something more than the chronicles of government or mere antiquarianism is coincident with the coming into importance of the common people

during the past century. It is a curious fact that the history telling of a nation suffers under a despotic government. It is imposible, for example, that what Guizot has done for the French or Green for the English should be done for the Russians or even the Germans by native writers. Consequently it was after the conquests of their governments by the people throughout Europe during the past century—after the establishment of popular governments in most civilized countries that an impetus was given to all studies having to do with people, which resulted in the broadening of the basis of historical narrative so that it should include the story of the passengers and crew of the ship of state as well as that of the chief officials. So, too, the founding of public systems of education, the growth of literatures full of brotherhood and humanity, the rise of social sciences like sociology and economics have given the people instead of their governments the supreme place in human interest and has influenced the study and composition of history.

"In all the development of history writing from Herodotus and Thucydides down," says a recent writer in the *Atlantic Monthly,* "there has been no transition so important as that which was thus effected by the advent of the sociological school."

It must not be thought that the social and economic in Michigan history has remained wholly untouched. Forty years ago at the very inception of the movement for writing neighborhood history on the part of the young scholars, Dr. Edward Bemis from Johns Hopkins University—the first of the great schools to promote and foster this activity—published his researches concerning "Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest." This work disclosed the fact, among many others of equal interest, that Michigan was the first Western state to make use of the New England township and the reasons for its adoption are here found in the character of the early immigrants hither, in their occupations and in their peculiar interests. It might well have been added, it seems to me, that the devotion of our renowned territorial governor, General Lewis Cass, to the maxim of his great teacher, Jefferson, that "in those New England divisions known as townships lies the future of democracy" had much to do with the transferring of this institution to our Michigan wilderness. In reading the periodic messages to the Territorial Legislative Assemblies of this great Governor one constantly finds reiterations of this belief in the merits of the township form of local government. "Whatever authority," he says repeatedly, "may be conveniently exercised in primary assemblies may be deposited with these townships." Cass received the Terri-

torial governorship in 1813 and retained it until called into higher fields of statesmanship by President Jackson in 1832. It was certainly no small thing for a struggling colony of frontiersmen to have had in their midst for nineteen years so great a man—one indeed who might have been Michigan's single successful candidate for the Presidency had not his devotion to local democracy as shown in the support of "squatter sovereignty" cost him the votes of the North, while his antipathy to slavery made him equally distasteful to the South.

In the late nineties the University of Michigan published some valuable studies upon certain economic and social phases of our history. These came out under the auspices of the Michigan Political Science Association and included among other titles such important discussions as the following: "The History of Suffrage in Michiagan," "An Historical Sketch of Internal Improvements in Michigan," "Territorial Tax Legislation in Michigan and the "History of Agriculture in Michigan." A scholarly history of the public school system of this State has also been written by Professor Putnam of Ypsilanti and more recently several other social or economic aspects of our life have been put into written form, although not as yet published.

The subjects which have just been read and upon which scholarly research work has been done are but illustrative of many more which the development of Michigan has furnished. Take, for example, the one universal property in a new country—land. The history of the descent of title in Michigan to this economic indispensable is full of interest. The student will find that no small portion of General Cass' reputation came from his skill with Indians in the matter of treaty-making by which claims to large quantities of land were given up by these original occupiers. He will find it of interest to read the report of General Tifin as United States Surveyor General when sent here to locate bounty lands for the veterans of 1912 "that the State was largely uninhabitable owing to swampiness that not one acre in a hundred was tillable and that provision for the soldiers must be looked for elsewhere." The title to the narrow strip of land in northern Ohio of which the city of Toledo is now the metropolis is of peculiar interest everywhere because of the miniature war of which it was the occasion, and on account of the resulting decision of the United States Government giving us Northern Michigan and causing that commonwealth misfit of two diverse peninsulas within the boundaries of a single State.

The student will also find an account of the long and bitter quarrel between the new State of Michigan and the Federal Government over the ownership of the public lands within the borders of this commonwealth. "The authorities at Washington," so an early Governor complains, "have ceased making the payments for the support of this government which came during our Territorial period and at the same time they have retained ownership in so much of the lands of this peninsula, which we are forbidden to tax, so that our state government is threatened with financial starvation." How the policy of the Federal Government was broken up in this respect and how gifts of land to the State for school purposes, for university purposes, for internal improvements, for railroads, for canals, salt spring lands, script lands and many other sorts of land-gifts will form an interesting part of this study. It is of course beyond the scope of a paper like this to do more than suggest possibilities in the treatment of these subjects, but a handling of the land question in Michigan would hardly be complete without some mention also of the speculativve mania in the middle thirties which swept over this territory by which more land changed hands in one year than had been the case during our entire previous history.

No social or economic history of a commonwealth would be complete either without some presentation of the financial history of its government. How a little democracy growing up from primitive conditions absolved from practically all restraints in respect to money matters so far as higher authority is concerned shall adjust its public aims and ideals so as to harmonize with its public resources is the story told by the finances of this state. Michigan has had a mildly spectacular financial history. Not only has her own treasury been twice looted by embezlement; not only has this treasury often been insolvent through the reckless legislative habit of appropriating more than was possessed; but the commonwealth herself in one notable instance refused payment to its creditors and is therefore listed among the half dozen states of our Union which suffer under the malevolent stigma of being repudiators.

The little State was indeed badly advised from the start in the use of its credit resources and a public debt which was contracted at the very beginning of its history remained to plague the treasury officials until the end of the Luce administration in 1890. Few other problems have proven so baffling to our local statesmen as has the handling of this double edged sword of public credit and the present rigorous denial to our legislators, through constitutional

provisions, of practically all use of public credit except for emergency purposes while often humiliating, is at least safe and doubtless the limitation is a permanent feature of our public policy.

The historian will easily find within our archives the records and statistical data which justify the present "pay as you go" policy employed in this commonwealth. Michigan's history during fifty years of debt-paying activity affords a wealth of experience regarding that alluring delusion that debts can be paid without making the necessary sacrifices. Three times were sinking funds established by successive legislatures but in each case with the invariable result, customary to sinking funds in public finance, that each proved futile, corrupting or extravagant, or all three. As was said before, part of the debt was repudiated and was therefore never paid. Naturally the State lost its credit and paid interest compounded upon interest many times. All of the original borrowings were recklessly spent. Finally such were the entanglements of the situation, that it required a decision of the supreme court in 1880 to tell whether or not the debt at last had been extinguished. It will be seen from this brief outline that public debts present lessons of administration of expediency and even of public morality when thoroughly given examination.

That other source of public income—the tax—in Michigan merits the most scrutinizing study from our student if for no other reason than for its permanency—since like the poor, taxes are always with us. Our commonwealth from the beginning has permitted itself the luxury of two distinct systems of taxation, the general and the specific. Like many others of the familiar institutions of our political organization specific taxes are an accidental product being as is well known simply a lump sum impost levied upon each unit of some object like railroads, saloons, dogs and men, and the expediency of these subjects in early days, when property had little or no value, was found in their definiteness and permanency.

No economic history of the State can be written which fails to notice the gigantic political struggle of easy memory to most of us concerning the transfer of railroads during the Pingree administration from the one of these taxing systems to the other. No other legislative battle in the history of the State compares with this one for intensity of public interest or long length of duration. An easy tabulation shows the "equal taxation controversy," as it was called, to have been the dominating question before three regular sessions of the legislature and the only issue discussed by four special ones; it further required an enormously expensive

railroad appraisal; it also necessitated the establishment of a permanent tax commission several decisions from the State Supreme Court and four years of litigation in the federal courts before railroads become amenable to taxes on the same basis as other property.

Aside from the levying of taxes, which is the first duty of administration in a revenue system there is the still more difficult task of tax collection. As is well known with us the local supervisor does the one, the local treasurer the other. Franklin, our proverb maker, could scarcely have had Michigan under contemplation when he identified the certainty of taxes with the certainty of death. Michigan, indeed, presents unique problems to the student of finance in this matter of the collection of taxes. Our State in this respect secures its distinction of perverseness in tax collections through the prevalence among us of that economic anomaly known as the "pinelands;" and any investigator may easily satisfy himself that tax collections in our commonwealth have been no pastime by the single proof that two or three pages only of our taxing laws are taken up with the levying of imports while eighteen or twenty plan provisions for their collection.

Unrestrained privileges of taxation necessarily have given to Michigan marked individuality in financial matters as have the differing environments under the same circumstances dealt similarly with sister States. The fact for example of inharmonious parts in Michigan through the incorporation of two peninsulas within one state and the strong bent toward locality government given by our great Territorial Governor have hindered substantially a well perfected centralized State Government and the consequent debilitating results to our tax levyings and collections have been most pronounced. The remedy was found in the establishment of the mandatory State Tax Commission a decade and a half ago and the benefits from centralization here illustrated, if properly interpreted, should bear furits in many other fields of State activity.

The Michigan school system is the aspect of our commonwealth development which unquestionably stirs most pride in the hearts of our citizens. Have we not the oldest State university and agricultural college within the land? And was not Michigan the first of our commonwealths to establish a department of public instruction as a part of its State government? These are some of the evidences to which we point with pride when the traditional excellencies of our schools are called into question. Besides all this, our superiority in mental vision and attainment has been acknowledged

often by alien and otherwise unbiased judges. I read recently, for example, in Mr. Rhodes' admirable history of the United States: "Intelligence of a very high order characterized the people of this state [Michigan]. Already," he says, "had the educational system been established which has grown into one surpassed by none in the world and which has become a fruitful model," again an indirect testimonial as to disciplined mentality is furnished by the claim of Mr. Bemis in his work on Local Government already referred to, that in 1881 the membership of this Pioneer Society exhibited 407 members from New England and New York out of a total enrollment of 496. Within a field of social development so obviously fruitful as our educational growth has been, the social historian should find much which would interest and repay him. Professor Putnam has written a book, entitled the "History of Secondary Education in Michigan," but the volume is little more than a record of legislation upon this matter. Dr. Hinsdale has produced an admirable history of the Michigan University and excellent studies have been made concerning other details connected with our varied agencies of learning, but the comprehensive, reliable and readable account of how the whole thing came along remains yet an opportunity for work and accomplishment to some devoted scholar.

We should have light at once, for instance, gleaned from experience, upon the problem of consolidating our various institutions of learning, since this question is a public concern of no small importance at the present moment. The State support of common schools too as now practiced in Michigan violates substantially every principle of good financial administration, yet if anyone thinks that the voters of this commonwealth will permit the use of specific taxes for other purposes than school support let him consult the messages of Rich, of Pingree and of Warner for the records of their adverse experiences in this matter. The peculiar relationship between the railroads and the schools of this State through this application of railroad taxes to school support and from which both associates have suffered many influences and to which the citizens of the State have shown an almost desperate devotion on several occasions, may only be explained by the historian who is willing to ravel out some of the many intricacies of our early history.

A single illustration of an unhappy outcome which results from this relationship may here be given. As is well known the support of schools in Michigan is a cooperative undertaking, the State defraying part of the expenses, the localities the remainder, but the contractual relations between these two partners may properly be

determined only in the light of history. The sum now received by the locality from the State is in the nature of a bounty for the promotion of education and the looseness in regard to results; which seems characteristic of all bounties as compared with other governmental disbursements, may be easily found here. The community is but slightly stimulated to increased effort in the interests of education by the receipt of this bounty, since public education is already highly cherished throughout the State. On the other hand, the descent annually upon the school district of a sum of money so large that in more than a thousand instances at once it is in excess of what can be used by the local division, not only entails actual waste of funds but furnishes a powerful temptation to the cupidity of these local recipients.

Nothing of equivalent advantage to the State government can be shown as a resulting compensation for these large outlays from the State treasury. There is in Michigan little of centralized control of schools and with the exception of a requirement of a uniform number of months of school per year under licensed teachers and the exaction of reports from the various districts, centralized support bears few other fruits so far as the State government is concerned. On the other hand, it is wasteful and it corrupts the local divisions as the excess of an undeserved good always corrupts.

Closely allied to the educational activities of a people are the attempst which they have made toward ameliorating the condition of the defectives, the dependents and the delinquents within their midst. Our State has made many and large expenditures for this purpose and has enacted much legislation upon these matters in attempting to deal with this so-called social problem—that with regard to capital punishment, for example, being almost unique—yet the authoritative treatise as to how Michigan has dealt with the poor, the criminal, the feeble minded, the impoverished and all the others remains as yet wholly undiscovered in the books of legislation and public reports upon these subjects.

The circumstances attending the settlement of our State will furnish an exceptional theme of interest to the social historian who is attracted by the picturesque. Michigan reached the station of an outgrown territorial period and a fitness for statehood under conditions very closely resembling a "boom." During the twenty years of American occupancy of this peninsula prior to 1835 not more than 87,000 inhabitants had at any one time made this region their home. During the subsequent three years the number of settlers had more than doubled and more land was bought and sold during a

single one of these years, 1836, than had been transferred during the entire previous history of the commonwelth. "An emigration," says Judge Cooley, "almost unparalleled in the history of mankind."

This magic-like growth of the new commonwealth took place at the time when a sort of radiance illumined everything pertaining to America. It was toward the end of a period of national business "good times" such as we have recently witnessed under the name by which it is entitled, the "McKinley Prosperity. Immigrants to the new State consequently brought with them their full share of the visions and day dreams with which the times were so thoroughly fraught and the immediate history of the new State was to bear witness to the invigorating results of this enthusiasm. A traveler in Michigan at this time—Bela Hubbard—records his experience as follows: "A steady stream of immigrants began to pour into the Territory. It consisted mostly of people of means and respectability from the older States, led by the prospect of cheaper lands. Wagons loaded with household goods and surmounted by a live freight of women and children, the men trudging on foot, were constantly entering by the almost only door, Detroit. in great numbers, bound for some paradise in the new El Dorado."

The five years which followed the beginning of the "boom" by which the new State was settled were among the most eventful and were certainly the most active that the Commonwealth has ever seen. Within this time a new State government had been established. A system of railroads at State expense had been provided for and were partly finished. A system of free banks had received legislative sanction and more than sixty of these were already in operation. A complete school system, involving a State university, a state commissioner of education and an entire system of graded public schools had been launched. A federal scheme of State government under which no officers were to be elected, save the single ones of Governor and Lieutenant Governor, all other beings appointive, had been put into operation. A corrupting gift of more than $286,000 from the national government had been received as the State's share in the distribution of the federal surplus. The United States government on the other hand had been repeatedly defied as to the terms under which the new Commonwealth was to be received into the sisterhood of the States, and in spite of the fact that the Jackson Cabinet, together with all other prominent Democrats of the time, were glorified by having their names attached to the various counties of the new State, the aspirations of the little municipality were distinctly thwarted by the mother gov-

ernment and Michigan was given just such a constitution and statehood as the Jacksonian administration saw fit to grant. To crown all a little army had been raised and a spectacular war had been fought with the State of Ohio.

"The early settlers were not mad men," said one of them, Ex-Governor Felch, at an anniversary celebration many many years later, "but they certainly were enthusiasts."

The character of the men by whom these activities were promoted and conducted should receive due attention from the historian of the period. It has been often charged that the youthful first Governor of the State—Stevens T. Mason—was the advocate and instigator of all this Utopianism. Others, however, of the period (like Woodbridge, who had been the Territorial Secretary almost from the beginning) can scarcely claim the immunities of youth while the Crareys, the Hastings, the Adams, the Bells, Felches, Pierces, Ransoms, Greens, Hubbards and Barrys, who figured so extensively in the public life of the period can scarcely all have been men of immature years. Some few of these founders of the State, it is lamentable to say, have need of the especial services of the historian. No inconsiderable cause for the sale of our State-owned and apparently prosperous railways is found in the amount of stealings, or as more moderly designated "graft," of which they were the source. The venerable John Pierce, the father of the Michigan schools, was extremely unfortunate, to say the least, in his administration of the public school funds, while the misfortunes of Governor Mason (which made him an expatriate from the commonwealth he had served during two administrations) in connection with the unpaid "five million dollars loan are well known. It is due to these men that their right relations to these great interests should be cleared up and it is extremely fortunate for everybody that the letters and papers of our first Governor are in the hands of a member of this Historical Commission whence they will proceed properly edited at no distant future, we may be sure.

This prodigy of statecraft which we have just described lasted but little longer, the student will find, than the time in which its framers were busy in its construction. Within thirteen years another convention was called for the purpose of making a new Constitution to which many of the participants in the affairs of the "boom" times were sent as delegates. The unusually complete records and discussions of this convention of 1850 are of intense seriousness of high character and the condemnation which they portray concerning the political day-dreaming of our formative

period was most emphatic. The State-built railroads had long since passed into the hands of private owners. The commonwealth had been unable to procure the funds with which to establish the State bank that an early law had authorized the sixty or more banks founded by private means a few years before had all save two or three become insolvent. The school system even under the glowing auspices of its great founder, John D. Pierce, had been found to be far in advance of its time and must subsequently be remodelled, and a depreciated circulation of State-printed treasury notes remained everywhere to plague the source of its being, for while the commonwealth treasury must pay these bills out to private owners at full face value, they were quickly returned again to the State's strong box for taxes at discounts widely varying from original values. Even our Michigan vocabulary suffered notable dislocations as a result of the titanic activities of these halcyon days and citizens of our State are familiar yet with such outlandish terms as "wildcat banking," "charter railroads," "internal improvements," "specific taxes," "frost bitten conventions," "primary school interest fund," "Toledo war," etc., which have come down to us from this early period. Surely here is an epoch of rare distinction in our commonwealth growth which should afford rich material to the student of the social and economic.

The student of social history might well make the subject of "crazes" or "popular manias" in Michigan a large chapter in his narrative. The "municipal aid" movement in the building of railroads, which followed the Civil War, might properly be regarded as a mild repetition of the earlier bubble building which we have just described.

Railroad "promoting" by township, village and city governments, since the constitution of 1850 forbade this privilege to the State, is the characteristic from which this agitation derived its name, and the two legislatures of 1865 and '67 received petitions for enabling acts with which aid might be given to roads which involved scores of municipalities. The culmination of opportunities of this sort to the municipalities, however, was apparently reached in 1869, when, through the adoption of a general law, all these minor political divisions were empowered to give aid at will.

The character of this mania may be roughly estimated by the enthusiasm with which railroad projects were everywhere received. Lansing, the State capital, for example, in one year (1869) was the focus of six railroads all of them receiving "municipal aid," while two more had been granted articles to build to Lansing and

still another was being promoted. Lansing was already the terminus of a "land grant" road and of another built by "municipal aid." No trade resources could possibly have been found in an inland city of 6,500 inhabitants to warrant the need of eleven railroads, and public excitement must probably be credited with the existence of such a large prospective supply.

The road building impulse itself sprang naturally from the business revival which followed the Civil War and, especially in Michigan, from the traffic demands of the newly developed lumbering industry which was so soon to dominate the industries of the State. The strength of the impulse is suggested by the assertion from Governor Baldwin in in his message in 1873 that

> "Railroads have unquestionably been the most important causes which have led to the development of the State within the last few years. On the first day of January in 1869, Michigan had 1,199 miles of railway in operation, since that date 1,808 miles had been completed, or 150 per cent more than the entire length constructed during the entire previous history of the State."

Gratifying as results like these must have been to the friends of the commonwealth, the debts which the municipalities had necessarily incurred in supporting the movement stirred enmity to "municipal aid" from the beginning. Governor Crapo, the State executive during four years of this period, vetoed more than twenty enabling acts voted by the legislature of 1867 and condemned in many vigorous messages the whole "aid" policy. Some of the large city newspapers also were unvarying in their hostility, and finally, in 1870, a decision from the Supreme Court declared the complete illegality of any debts contracted by the municipalities in the furtherance of the municipal aid policy; and the whole activity was seen at last to be at an end when a special session of the Legislature was unsuccessful in annulling the court's decision by securing the adoption of the constitutional amendment which had been proposed.

An old proverb tells us that "the history of a people may be found in the development of its tools," and certainly the presence of the economic—which tools imply—is not lacking in Michigan history. Curiously enough the history of this State coincides almost exactly with that span of years which measures the industrial revolution introduced by the railroad—Stephenson's Rocket locomotive having proven successful in 1828 while three years later our Territorial assembly chartered the Pontiac and Detroit (afterwards the Detroit, Grand Haven and Milwaukee) railroad, and five years

later a successful road conducted traffic between Adrian and Toledo. During this brief space of time the forests have been stripped from a peninsula, a rural population has been converted into a city population, and manufacturing has eclipsed agriculture in the production of the largest annual amount of wealth.

Some of the industries for which Michigan is renowned have had almost meteoric histories. Lumbering, for example, which, in the seventies and eighties, gave to this State first rank in the matter of forest products has long since successfully destroyed its sources —the pine-forests which formerly covered our State from the lower counties to the northern limits. This triumph of contemporary industry had many other similarities to unjust warfare beside that of the devastation wrought. There was the same method of campaigns the same ferocity of attack, the similar number of men employed and finally the similarity in residual outcome—"a harvest of barren regrets."

The second of the famous industries to give Michigan distinction was that of mining and the unique distinction was awarded this commonwealth during long periods of time of ranking first in the production of both those most useful of all metals—copper and iron. The story of the accidental discovery of iron mines near Marquette by a party of surveyors would of itself make an interesting page in any industrial history, while the onrush of miners to the Copper Eldorado in 1845 ranks easily as the first of these characteristic American movements the second of which came a few years later in the descent of the "Forty-niners" upon California and the last in the recent migration of the Klondike.

Agriculture has always been the popular industry in Michigan. Although confined mainly to the five lower tiers of counties, it probably exhibits a greater variety of products than that of any other of the states in the Union. In the three generations of civilized occupancy the agriculture of this State has succumbed to the industrial revolution which has prevailed everywhere, and has become a commercialized industry instead of a self-sufficient one. Farm enterprises have disappeared and have been supplanted by those better fitted to survive. Few cleaner illustrations can be found anywhere of the operation of natural forces in history than can be found in the way in which markets and environments have acted as touch-stones to discriminate out the fit from the unfit in the struggle for existence of farm enterprises.

The development of improved transporation has also been notable in Michigan. A long North and South peninsula this State acted

as a barrier to the all-water route between the commercial centers of the Upper Mississippi and those of the Atlantic seaboard which the ice at Mackinaw made a complete barrier in the winter time. An obstruction to commerce of this sort was displaceable only by improved means of transportation, and the bridging of Michigan was early recognized as indispensible to the development of Western trade. The agencies by which this was accomplished are of themselves significant records of our progress. The old Chicago road of the Territorial period, the various State roads at a later time, the Michigan Central, when improved motive power was used, and most recently the interurban, outlines the stages of evolution in the accomplishment of this feat. The social adjustment of railroads, too, by which these new instruments of traffic were given their setting among our older political institutions and agencies received an important contribution from Michigan, for was it not our State Supreme Court in the case of Salem vs. the Detroit, Lansing and Northern railroad that decided railroads were strictly private undertakings and therefore not fit subjects for public aid? The latest chapter in this long history of the improved means of transportation will have for its theme the trunk line gravel roads which have been brought upon us by the coming of the automobile and whose advent makes the sixth in the series of systems of improved transportation employed here during three generations.

The preservation of the records, the public documents, the data which would permit such history to be written as we have suggested is not urged from dilettante or mere curiosity-satisfying motives. We believe such history would be practically useful. Is it not Carlyle who says "that the life of the lowest mortal if faithfully recorded, would be interesting to the brightest." So we believe that the ordinary facts of every-day life have lessons to teach of far reaching importance if properly interpreted. We are all familiar with a prominent school of historians which assign to natural environment a large place in the shaping of the history of a people. Taine wrote a history of English literature from this standpoint. If our Buckles, Montagues, Taines and Sunples find such fruitful historical forces in the mere dull, inanimate earth, why may not the principles and circumstances discovered by men in their activities in the common day be even more fruitful? The public interests of the day are emphatically of the economic betterment and social welfare order as is witnessed everywhere by our mothers' pension laws, domestic relations courts, pure food and workmen's compensation laws, free libraries, free schools, tuber-

culosis sanitariums, asylums and reformators of all sorts, social surveys, rural surveys, county agricultural experts, anti-saloon laws, eugenic and other race betterment laws, etc., etc. Why then should not the narrative of the social and the economic in our history be worth while and deserving of our sincerest consideration?

# MEMOIRS OF PIONEER SETTLERS

## PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY DAYS IN KENT COUNTY

BY MRS. MARION LOUISE (HINSDILL) WITHEY

## HURON COUNTY FROM 1800 TO 1850

BY MRS. FLORENCE M. GWINN

## THE SETTLEMENT OF CLINTON COUNTY

BY MRS. HARRIET MUNROE LONGYEAR

## THE SCOTCH SETTLERS OF OAKLAND COUNTY

BY ROBERT W. MALCOLM

# PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF EARLY DAYS IN KENT COUNTY.

BY MRS. MARION LOUISE HINSDILL WITHEY

IN the spring of 1833 my father, Myron Hinsdill, came from Hinesburg, Vermont, to Richland, then called Gull Prairie. This journey was made through the Erie Canal, by boat from Buffalo to Detroit, from there on by teams, one of which father brought with him. Most of the towns on the way were mere stopping places. The vision of Ann Arbor, Michigan, as it was then, still lingers in my memory. Mother used to tell the story of our stop there. The landlord came out to assist us. As he took down four little girls one after the other, he turned to father and in some emphatic words inquired what he had come with them to this country for.

We were warmly welcomed to our new home by the family of Elder Knappen whom my parents had known in Vermont. They had come to Michigan but a short time before us and were sufficiently settled so that we could remain with them until some place could be provided for us. Father at once set about building a log barn for his horses. When it was up and roofed mother proposed that we should move into it ourselves and relieve the Knappens. Accordingly a floor was laid, a stick chimney built, and we took possession with two pieces of furniture brought with us—a small, light stand with leaves and a sideboard and bureau together. I still have this and it is a useful article of furniture. I don't remember where we got our bedsteads but father went down to the southern part of the state and obtained six wooden chairs and a small rocking chair, which I still cherish among my household goods.

In this primitive way my parents, who had left a fine old homestead in the east, commenced life in Michigan. A young woman

[1]This paper was prepared to be read at the midwinter meeting held in Grand Rapids in January, 1913, but the author died November 16, 1912. Mrs. Withey was one of the foremost women of Grand Rapids and the oldest continuous resident of the city. She was eighty-three years old at the time of her death and she came to Grand Rapids with her parents Mr. and Mrs. Myron Hinsdill from Hinesburg, Vermont, at the age of six. She was married at Grand Rapids, December 24, 1845 to Solomon L. Withey, who was later appointed by President Lincoln district judge for the western district of Michigan. Judge Withey was always an active promoter of the interests of Grand Rapids. Mrs. Withey was prominently identified with the beginnings and growth of four of the strong religious, philanthropic and educational institutions of Grand Rapids: the Park Congregational Church, the U. B. A. hospital, the public library and the Ladies' Literary Club. The Marion L. Withey residence for nurses is a monument to her philanthropic activities. Mrs. Withey died in Grand Rapids, November 16, 1912. She is survived by four children. [Condensed from an extended article on her life and services, printed in the Grand Rapids *Evening Press* for November 16, 1912.—Ed.]

who came with us to assist mother, very soon accepted an offer of marriage from a man who was probably in want of a housekeeper and mother, a frail, delicate woman, was left to struggle with small children, housework, fever and ague.

How that house did leak every time it rained. We had to cover the beds with tin pans and dishes to catch the water. As warm weather came on we did most of our work out of doors. One incident I well remember. Mother had prepared the bread ready to bake in a tin oven before the fire out of doors, and had gone to bed with an attack of the ague, leaving my older sister and myself to attend the baking. Child-like we were interested in our play, and so forgot the fire entirely. Imagine our consternation when we saw two great hogs walk off with poor mother's bread.

The contest with fever and ague was fearful, and ague usually had the best of it. At one time when our distress was the greatest a cousin of father's, Stephen Hinsdill, came to us and remained some time to assist in taking care of us. We were all sick at once. Dr. Deming was our physician.

The music of the wolves at night was quite common when I was a girl. There were other exciting times also. One time during this first summer in Michigan we had a narrow escape. A violent whirlwind passed over that region and blew a large tree, which stood in front, down on the house, crushing in the front part. Mother saw it coming and gathered us into the back part, near the one window, from which we were taken out, unhurt but badly frightened.

A Mr. and Mrs. Baker riding through the woods during the same storm, were killed by a falling tree. A baby sister of mine who died that November was buried by their side. I have been told that these graves have an enclosure near the center of the present cemetery at Richland. We were living at that time in a house owned by Deacon Gray, nearer the center of the prairie. Of this winter I remember little except our going to meeting on an ox sled. I don't know why we did this as my father had horses.

The next spring my uncle, Mitchel Hinsdill, came with his family to Richland. My father and this brother located on adjoining farms just south of the prairie. My father had five acres cleared and wheat sown when my uncle arrived. They both commenced to build on their farms and located their homes not far apart. Uncle's house was finished first, or as nearly finished as houses were in those days. Here one of my brothers, Chester B. Hinsdill, was born. Before cold weather our own house was ready and we moved into it, although it was not plastered. We used blankets for inside

doors for a time and a carpenter's bench was a part of the furniture. My mother's mother, a woman over seventy, came and spent the winter with us. It was a comfort to mother but poor grandmother was greatly tried at the hardships mother had to endure. She was mostly troubled that the little girls must be brought up in such a wild place.

Our evenings were enlivened by visits from our neighbors who often came several miles for that purpose. Hickory nuts, of which the woods yielded an abundance, were our usual refreshments. My father often read aloud for our entertainment. I have a vivid remembrance of his reading Cooper's "Leather Stocking Tales." The evening he read the scene of the shooting of the panther over Charlotte's head, Mr. Foster Gilkie was with us. He seems to be almost before me, as I recall him with his emphatic "hum! hum!"

During that winter father once went to a point south of our home where some large sycamores grew. Mother and some of us children went along, I presume for a visit. We came home in the bright moonlight, riding inside the tree as it lay lengthwise on the sled. These trees were used for smoke houses, corn-cribs, etc. Several large specimens were standing not far from Kalamazoo a few years ago.

During the winter father also made a trip on horseback to the Grand River country as it was then styled. Here the spring before, his counsin Hiram Hinsdill, of Bennington, Vermont, had gone with his family. Father must have been captivated by the scenery. The fine, rapid river and the high hills seemed to him like his old home in New England. He fancied it would be more healthy, and was quite ready for a change. Accordingly he let his farm, soon after selling it, and the last of May or the first of June, removed to Grand Rapids.

We made this journey through the woods, following blazed trees, as there was no sign of a road. We were several days on the way. One evening as we were stopping for the night in a log house without a floor or roof, the first stage, with George Coggshells' family passed us, bound for the same haven. Temporarily we stayed with Hiram Hinsdill's family. Father purchased of him the frame of the old National Hotel, and proceeded to finish it. While this was being done, a part of the summer we lived in a new barn near by and as soon as a few rooms were done we moved in. This summer of 1836, on pleasant Sundays we used to cross the river to attend services at Mr. Slater's Mission chapel where he preached in the

afternoon in English. Occasionally he came over to the East Side and preached in a house built by a Mr. Lincoln.

This summer Miss Page, afterward the wife of Judge Bacon, of Monroe, at the importunity of several families who had small children, opened a school in a new barn. This building, located a little to the rear of what is now the Morton House was built of boards set up endwise while the boards of the floor were laid down without matching. The school committee was not vexed with the matter of ventilation. It was here that I had my first struggles with Webster's Spelling Book.

One of the memorable events of that year was the Indian payment in October on the west side of the Grand River. The Indians were gathered there some two or three weeks waiting for the specie to come. It was great amusement for the white people to go and visit the camp and my father took us children.

Everything about the place seemed curious to us, including the savages themselves. Their campfires and wigwams; the men decked out with paint on their faces, feathers in their headgear, and with strings of tin cut in round pieces or with beads around their necks; the squaws, many of them with fine broadcloth blankets, handsomely embroidered leggings to match, and pretty moccasins; all this quite fascinated us. These varicolored figures, together with the lovely autumn landscape, made a picture well calculated to live in the memory.

This annual payment was kept up for twenty years and from fifteen hundred to two thousand Indians assembled in that place every year. Many of them we came to know personally and we looked forward to their coming. Some of the squaws were skilled with the needle and their petticoats were often embroidered with narrow ribbon and beads a quarter of a yard deep. Their bead and porcupine quill work was often a marvel of ingenuity and most neatly done. It is a great pity that more of the really fine specimens of their work have not been preserved.

Indians were a familiar sight but I do not remember having any serious fear of them or any apprehension of trouble with them. A seat by the fire when they were chick-es-sol (cold), or a generous supper when they were buck-a-tab (hungry), generally insured us the most friendly relation with them.

The summer of 1836 seems a long one to my recollection. The arrival of so many strangers; the rapid changes; the hurry of people to get some place to live before cold weather; the peculiar ways in which people did live; the feverish excitement of specula-

tion; so many events crowded into the space of a few months, make those months seem now, like so many years.

To recall the state of things, I extract from a letter dated April 2, 1836, from my father to a brother-in-law:

"I have applied for fine lots of pine-land up Grand River but there is such a press of business at the Land Office, one cannot know under six or eight days whether he can get it or not, and if two men asked for the same land, the same day, they must agree which shall have it, as it is set up at auction. There have been four or five hundred people at Bronson for a week past, all waiting to get land; if I get the pine land it will cost about $2.25 per acre, and a great bargain at that. If land buyers increase as we have reason to expect, when navigation opens there will not be a good lot in the territory at Congress prices, and then I see no reason why land will not be worth $10.00 per acre."

That this came to pass we now know. The resort of the early pioneers to every device to supply food and the other commonest necessities of life, was only equaled by their ingenuity for entertainment. During the winter months debating societies, singing schools and masquerade parties were in order. Conspicuous among these were the meetings of the Grand Rapids Lyceum. This society was organized in a room over the old yellow warehouse, used as an office by Dr. Charles Shepard. Its moving spirits were C. H. Taylor, Noble H. Finney, William A. Richmond, W. G. Henry, George Martin, Simeon Johnson and others who came a little later.

Its public meetings were held in the dining-room of the old National—my father's house—which was the place for all kinds of assemblages. Here was brought out the latent intellectual force and forensic ability of that little coterie of young men, that years after was conspicuous on the platform, the stump and at the bar. The women of that time were no whit behind the men and all womanly graces, intelligence, refinement of manners and accomplishments of head and heart were there. A long search might be made in vain to find finer examples of noble womanhood than were present at every social gathering in that old hotel dining-room.

The Lyceum was maintained for many years and thus was started a valuable library. Some of the books are still doing service in our present Public Library.

My brother, Henry M. Hinsdill, was born in March, 1837. He was the second white child born here, Napoleon Godfrey who preceded him by a few weeks having claim to the first place. In August of that year an uncle, Truman Kellogg, moved his family here. They made the journey around the lakes and up the river. He had previously purchased a farm east of the town on Lake

Avenue, his house standing where the Paddock House now is. Having a decided taste for horticulture, he took great care to get and set out choice orchards of peach, plum and apple trees. He also planted some fine varieties of grapes and all the small fruits. He gave quite a large plot of ground to the morus multi colus shrub, and embarked in the manufacture of silk. For several years he raised the cocoons and wound the silk. The family still possess many specimens of this, the earliest of Grand Rapids manufacturing products. At Belding, Michigan, there is now one of the finest silk factories in the country.

This uncle of mine, although one of the quietest of men, was an avowed abolitionist, subscribing to the abolition newspapers and quietly advocating their opinions. In his correspondence he used as a letterhead the figure of a negro kneeling and lifting manacled hands to heaven in supplication. The engraving was done by a colored man. Some of the letters from a brother in the South, containing pleas to discontinue the use of this paper for letters sent to that place as they were positively dangerous, are curious evidences of the public sentiment of that time.

To show that the higher interests of religion and education were not neglected I quote from a letter of father's dated February 25, 1837: "We have two schools in our house, one instructed by my sister (Aunt Mary Walker) who came out here last fall; the other by Mr. Smith, who was educated in your village. We have had from eight to ten boarders all winter, on the temperance plan in full, and have most of the good custom. Strangers from almost all parts of the Union visit our place and are much pleased. Property has advanced one-third or more since you were here; so much, I think people are crazy. Society has improved very much. A Presbyterian church was formed last October with twenty-two members and ten added since, and we have as talented society of young men as can be found in your state. Provision is very high, flour, $15.00 a barrel; oats, $1.00; potatoes, $1.25; pork, $14.00 per hundred; butter 37½c; and other things in proportion, board $4.50 per week; cash plenty; most of it paid out for land. I have had more silver and gold in my house this winter than a pair of horses could draw."

This is a good picture of the times. The church spoken of was soon changed to the Congregational polity, that element largely predominating. It is now the First Congregational Church of Grand Rapids. I remember distinctly the scene of the organization: the little company as they stood up to assent to the articles

of faith, and afterwards to celebrate the Lord's Supper, with the bread on a common plate, a pitcher and tumblers for tankard and cups. So true were these early settlers to their convictions of faith and training, that the same roof frequently sheltered the family, the church, the school, and Sunday school. They were, however, very liberal to others; any preacher who could lead a Christian service was warmly welcomed.

The night before New Year's of 1838, we were treated to a new diversion. A company of French and Indian half breeds, masked and dressed in most grostesque and fantastic costumes, with horns and every hideous instrument of noise, rushed through the houses of the settlers, howling and dancing. Everything the houses afforded in the way of refreshments was brought forth. The noisy hideous visitors threw it on the floor and stamped it down, to the ruin of house and furniture and to the great alarm of housekeepers. So disgusting was the performance and so general the disapprobation that it was never repeated. What it meant and where it originated, no one has ever seemed to know.

In February of 1838, great alarm was felt at the damming up of the ice below the town. One evening just in the midst of a spirited debate at the Lyceum, there came the cry that the water was rising. Everyone started to the rescue. An anxious night was followed by an exciting day. At mid-day, the ice began to move in a vast body while the water rushed back on the little settlement, to the great danger of several families who lived on the bank of the river. The Almy and Page families were taken from the upper windows of their houses in boats. Their houses were situated a little north of where Sweet's Hotel now is. I remember Mrs. Almy's terror as she was brought to our house.

The spring of 1838 was marked by an event of interest to my own family. This was the marriage of my Aunt Mary Hinsdill[2] to Mr. C. I. Walker. During the summer my father's mother paid us a visit. Father spent most of his time that summer looking and surveying land, and early in November he was taken down with a fever. He died on the 17th, at the age of thirty-nine, a victim to the exposures and hardships of a new country. His remains were interred in the Fulton Street cemetery, then just purchased but not platted.

In recalling this bit of family history connected with the early settlement of our state, and bringing to mind the names of many

[2]Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdill Stone, of Kalamazoo, educator, author, and lecturer, was a sister of Mrs. Withey and Mrs. Walker.

contemporary with my parents, I am reminded of the precious material of which our foundations were builded. If truth, integrity, intelligence, and heroism are traits of nobility, truly the pioneers of our fair Peninsula were a right royal race.

# HURON COUNTY FROM 1800 TO 1850.[1]

BY MRS. FLORENCE M. GWINN.

HURON County forms what is called "the thumb of the Michigan mitten." It has a coast line on three sides, formed by the waters of Lake Huron and Saginaw Bay.

In the little village of Grindstone City, on Lake Huron, one of the earliest settlers if not the earliest was Captain A. J. Peer. Here at the very tip of the Thumb he quarried the first stone in 1834. The stones were used in building the pavements of Woodward and Jefferson Avenues in Detroit. It was 1836 before he acquired 400 acres of land including the Grindstone quarries. That same year he set up the works to carry on the business. In 1845 he located here and operated a water-power saw-mill utilizing for that purpose, the creek which runs through the place. He also spent many years of his life on the lakes, being owner of a number of brigs and schooners. It is worthy of note that the engine used in the manufacture of the first grindstones was the first ever built in Detroit and had been used in the first steamer that plied between Port Huron and Detroit. Captain Peer was the president of the first Pioneer Society organized in Huron County.

In 1838 two lumbermen, John and Allan Daggett, carried on operations at a place called Rock Falls. They also used a water-power mill. Then followed Henry Whitcomb and soon after many fishermen and shingle weavers came to prey upon Uncle Sam's domain.

In 1839 a Mr. Luce built a saw-mill at Willow Creek now Huron City. Shortly afterward settlers began to come up the coast in small skiffs or often on foot.

The history of Sand Beach (now Harbor Beach) is interesting in many respects. Here John Hopson located in 1838. For a time he was engaged in lumbering with Daggetts. Later Mr. Whitcomb bought out their interest. The lumber which they manufactured was put on board of vessels which lay at anchor off the shore. In order to do this they formed cribs of the lumber which they floated out to the boats and loaded up. If no storm came up, they were all right; if it did, they were all wrong. The first goods ever sold in the county were brought here for sale by Mr. Whitcomb.

[1]Read at the mid-winter meeting at Port Huron, Feb. 4-5, 1914.

The shingle weavers were quite numerous at this point and a merry time they often had. They received a good price for their shingles and the timber cost them nothing. They appropriated that from the government. From the proceeds of the shingles they would send down to Port Huron, purchase a barrel of flour and a barrel of whiskey. Then they would have what they called "a high time," until the whiskey gave out, which it always did long before the flour was used up.

Once in a while the government inspectors would appear and scatter the weavers into the wilderness but this condition of affairs did not last long and in a short time the weavers would be back at work. Little thought was given to laws, in those times; for we find a man by the name of Cane engaged in the counterfeiting business. He built a log cabin and started a Mexican silver dollar factory. Later he counterfeited bills. The good natured pioneers never troubled him although they knew very well what he was doing.

The marriage of Duncan McCart and Mary Ann French was the first to be celebrated on this shore. The little daughter who came into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Allan Daggett was the first white child born in Sand Beach.

At the mouth of Bird's Creek on the shores of Lake Huron and Saginaw Bay was the village of Port Austin. Jonathan Bird was the first man to locate at this point in 1837. He was a patriot in the reform movement in Canada at that period and had to flee here for refuge. He built a log cabin and remained throughout the winter.

In 1838 he built a water power mill on the creek which bears his name. This was the commencement of the heaviest lumbering business ever carried on in the county. One mill alone cut 120,000,000 feet for the eastern markets. During these times when expecting vessels they would build a bonfire on the beach or hang a lamp on the top of a cedar tree.

The caves along the coast at this place were used as a hiding place for fugitives from justice as well as for homes for the pioneers. Many children were born in them.

There were no roads in Huron County. Indian trails served for that purpose along the shore and the woods were traversed in many directions by the red man's paths. A man by the name of Hopson drove his steers and wagon over one of these into Sand Beach where he was engaged in gill-net fishing in company with

William Underwood. This was the first wagon ever brought into the county.

White Rock was settled in 1848, a man by the name of Smith being the first settler here. This place was also the home of the fishermen and shingle weavers, who would remain for a time and then pass up the shore.

The first lighthouse was built at Point Aux Barques about 1847. It was made of stones collected on the beach of Lake Huron but the structure proved to be insecure. The keeper of the lighthouse was drowned and his wife took care of the light for a time. A man named Sweet succeeded her.

Coming up the shore we find Walter Hume, after whom Hume township is named. He came here long before any other white man and made his home among the Indians. He also left Canada at the time of the Rebellion. It was the law in Canada at that period in case of war, that one man must be left at home to care for the family.

When the trouble broke out both Walter and his father were at home. The elder Mr. Hume was taken but by the time he reached London, Walter had fled to the United States so the father threw down his gun and returned to care for his family.

Walter had a narrow escape from the Canadian government officials when crossing at Port Huron. Indeed, his companion, a man by the name of Armstrong, had his arm shot off. This man was long afterwards the first sheriff of Huron County. Hume rejoicing at his own safety, sought refuge in the wilds of Huron and became the Daniel Boone of Hume township. In after years he married Mary Shilling, daughter of one of the early pioneers of Sebewaing township. One son was born to them.

In the southwestern part of the county we find the village of Sebewaing named after a tribe of Indians who lived there. The first white man to reach this place was the Rev. J. J. Auch, the township being first named Auchville in his honor. He came as a missionary to the Indians from a Lutheran church in Ann Arbor, Michigan. He found one house belonging to a half-breed named Charles Rodd. Mr. Auch built the second house of logs in 1848. His brother followed him in 1849.

Later a company of Germans all from Ann Arbor were landed by the steamer *Julia Smith* on "Lone Tree" island at the mouth of the Sebewaing river. This island has since been washed away. It was over three weeks before they could reach the main land. Through the efforts of Mr. Auch the Indians were induced to carry

them over in their canoes. This little company did not feel very cheerful or secure when they did reach the shore for they had no roof to shelter them and the land was very low and swampy. In many places the water was several feet deep.

Such men are not easily discouraged however, and they began to select at once their land and build log cabins. At first they all spent their nights in one small log house. There were forty-five men, women and children so they were somewhat limited in space. Their provisions were brought from Saginaw in small boats. There was plenty of game, bear, deer and wolves on the land, and pike, pickerel and sturgeon in the bay near by. During this early period the mail was brought occasionally from Hampton, now Bay City. There were no schools until 1854.

Shebahyonk was the name of an Indian settlement a few miles away. Nock-che-ko-may was the chief. The tribe had bought land from the government in 1847 and settled on it. These Indians belonged to the Chippewa nation and were quite friendly toward the settlers.

Thus these heroic pioneers built homes in the wilderness aided by their noble wives. Often, without teams, they rolled up the logs and at night burned them, picking up the rubbish by the light of the heaps.

Here among the stumps they planted potatoes, their main crop; for often they would be for days without bread of any kind. Many and many meals they made on potatoes alone.

In those days the children gathered the butternuts and hickory-nuts and stored them away in the loft of the old log cabin. In the long winter evenings many a pleasant hour was spent in cracking nuts and telling stories around the large fireplace which was to be seen in every cabin. Their surroundings were rude, their luxuries few, and habits simple but who dare say that life was not enjoyable for them?

In the year 1841, James Gallagher, a trapper, and John Waters, afterward Captain Waters, induced by the prospect of gain and having beside a keen love for adventure, resolved to coast along the shores of Lake Huron and Saginaw Bay on a hunting and trapping expedition.

It was the middle of September when they embarked in their canoe at Port Huron. It was a daring venture but these rangers of the woods and waters were fearless, and then, too, they had a genuine love for the occupation and never seemed to tire at the paddles or oars. For days at a time they would follow the wind-

ing courses of the rivers or penetrate the secluded retreats of the great forests in search of game.

Gallagher and his companion stopped at several points along the shore to hunt and trap, as they came up the lake. They had secured a good share of furs by the time they reached that portion of the thumb where the village of Caseville now stands.

In the early dusk of an October evening their canoe glided into the mouth of the Pigeon river, whose banks were covered with a luxuriant growth of oak and pine-woods. The river was winding in its course, forming, as Gallagher expressed it, three horseshoes. After half an hour's paddling they reached the point now known as the "rapids." It was too dark to go any further, so, finding a small opening in the woods, they concluded to land and form a camp for the night. After drawing up the canoe on the low bank, they soon had a comfortable camp prepared. A thick growth of bushes behind hid the firelight from any Indians who might be near, although such savages as they had met had been friendly. After supper they wrapped themselves in their blankets and were soon sound asleep.

It was just breaking day when Gallagher awoke next morning and on looking out was amazed to find that they had encamped in the midst of an apple orchard. On the ground and on the trees about him were fine apples. He could scarcely believe that his eyes were not deceiving him.

"Wake up, John," he called, excitedly to the other trapper, "we are in the middle of an apple orchard."

"Nonsense, Jim, you're dreaming," responded his companion, as he came hastily out. Waters was as much surprised as Gallagher had been at the sight.

They feasted on the ripe, luscious apples and on their return, loaded the canoe with the fruit, from the sale of which they realized a goodly sum. Who planted these trees? That question has never been answered. They have always borne the name of the Indian apple trees, although the Indians disclaim all knowledge of them.

In later years the land on which they were planted became the property of the late Thomas B. Woodworth, long prominently connected with the political affairs of Huron county. State Senator Fred Woodworth is his son. Strange to relate Mr. Woodworth was born in New York on the very day that these trees were discovered.

The first settler, in what is now the village of Caseville, was Reuben Dodge a native of Maine, who came from Detroit with his wife and three daughters, Sarah, (afterwards Mrs. Moses Gregory), Mary and Susan. They entered the wilds of Caseville township and built a small log cabin at the mouth of the Pigeon river. Here they made a living by hunting, fishing and trapping. He killed the only moose ever seen in the township near where the Maccabee hall now stands. He had a fierce encounter with the great creature before he succeeded in killing it. This adventure is given in a story (written by Mrs. Gwinn) and was published in the Michigan Farmer a few years ago.

His wife and children did not see any white people, other than their own family for over four years. The first white child born here was their son, Reuben Dodge, Jr., who is still living.

The settlers who followed them came up the shore by the way of Point Aux Barques following the Indian trail along the beach. There were a number of Indians about here at this period belonging to the Chippewa tribe. They were generally peaceful and frequently exchanged visits with these early pioneers bringing them gifts of venison, bear meat and in the spring maple sugar. They caught the sap in troughs made of birch bark and boiled it down in large brass kettles. These kettles had been so long in their possession that even the memory of the oldest Indian was taxed in vain when asked to give an account of how they obtained them.

My brother, Robert Morse, found one of these kettles in a fine state of preservation on his father's farm after one of the great forest fires. A large tree had grown over it and no Indian had camped in that place for over sixty years. It evidently had been hidden there from the position it occupied when found. Maybe its owner was killed in one of the fierce battles that occurred between the different tribes over 250 years ago. There are several great mounds around Caseville where those killed in battle were buried after these conflicts.

A small brass kettle was found by William Handy in one of these places many years ago.

Near one of these mounds on the shore of the bay the ground is a dark red in color. Tradition says it was caused by the blood of the slain but we of today know it was colored by the burning of the camp fires.

This sketch would be incomplete without mentioning the name of James Dufty, who helped to make the first grindstone at Grindstone City and in 1848 came to Caseville. He also helped to build

the first steam sawmill in the county. His name is associated with all of the earliest improvements. He was justice of the peace from the formation of the township until his death two years ago at the ripe age of ninety-nine years, being the oldest justice in the state at the time of his death.

The town was first named Port Elizabeth in honor of Mr. Rattles' wife. He represented Leonard Case, of Cleveland, who owned many hundred acres of land near the Pigeon river. The first wedding was that of Sarah Dodge and Moses C. Gregory and the first funeral service was conducted by George Cleaver. J. W. Kimbal carried the first mail into Caseville from Port Austin.

There are many interesting incidents connected with the later history of the county and Caseville that are worthy of mention.

Many of the heroic men who entered Huron county in their prime have passed beyond. The number remaining who can relate the history of the first days of settlement is yearly growing less. It is fitting that a record of their lives and deeds be made now to be handed down to the future generations for information and instruction.

[2]Much of this history has been obtained from the pioneers themselves and the Indians who lived here. I am also indebted for information to the Huron county album, in my opinion the most correct record of early times we have.—Author.

# THE SETTLEMENT OF CLINTON COUNTY.

BY MRS. HARRIET MUNRO LONGYEAR.

MR. CLARENCE M. BURTON, when President of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical, asked the pioneers of this Society to write what they could remember of their early life in Michigan. I have complied with that request.

My father, Jesse Munro, was a native of Rutland County, Vermont. When twenty-one years of age, he decided to seek his fortune in the West. New York State at that time was considered far West, as it was a good deal of a wilderness. There were no roalroads, no canals; he walked and carried his belongings on his back save when occasionally he secured a ride on a farmer's wagon. On arriving at Buffalo, he decided to enlist in the Army of 1812. He served on sentry duty at Black Rock until the close of the war, only a few months later.

He purchased land five miles east of Buffalo City on the Batavia road and lived there until 1836. He then sold his property and came further west to find a place to settle with his family. He and my mother together with my mother's brother Hiram Parker traveled through Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin without finding anything that pleased them. Then they decided to look through Michigan, the one State they had no idea of settling in when they left home.

They had seen "Michiganders," as they were called, returning to the state of New York. Their sallow complexion and the tales they told of shaking with the fever and ague made my father think that Michigan was no place for him. Nevertheless they decided to see for themselves, and give Michigan a look. Much to their surprise they found the state satisfactory. They liked the beautiful forests with their magnificent trees. My father was captivated a first sight arguing that land which supported such a growth of trees would raise anything planted. So he located land in Clinton County. There were the black-walnut, butternut, hickory, black cherry, birds-eye-maple, curled-maple, sugar-maple, silver-leaf maple, beech, basswood, sycamore, ironwood, white, black and burr oaks;—many being three and four feet in diameter—and the tulip tree, with its beautiful foliage and lovely blossoms.

Our New York State home sold in 1836 for $10,000. We came from Buffalo to Detroit on the steamer "Robert Fulton." The family consisted of my father and mother, five daughters, and two sons. There were three hired men; two were sent with the stock through Ohio; one accompanied the family.

Detroit was very disappointing to the older members of the family—a very uninteresting town, as I remember it. The buildings were low and very unpretentious, right down in the mud; a small old French town!

The men with the stock arrived after having been delayed by bad roads. There were three horses, a yoke of young oxen and two cows. The workmen applied themselves to loading up the goods, and making ready for the journey. The first day out from Detroit we went only ten miles. The road was simply terrible. There were places where there were half a dozen tracks where different travellers had endeavored to get around the deep mud holes, but each one seemed equally bad. The wagon wheels would sink below the hubs and one team was powerless to draw the load. There was little travel through the country as inhabitants were far apart. Wherever there was an inhabitant we found hospitality. We were never obliged to go further for accommodations. We were asked to share with them what they had. One place I remember where there was a large log house with very wide doors. After supper the doors were thrown open, the two being on opposite sides of the house; a yoke of oxen then drew a log ten feet long and three feet in diameter through one door and rolled it into the fire-place for a back log. Another log two feet through was drawn in and placed on top of the first one for a back stick; a third one of similar size by the same process was placed on large stones in place of andirons for a forestick; smaller split wood was then piled upon these logs and then there was a fire to last four twenty-four hours, with a few additions of small sticks during the next day.

At another place where we were entertained over night there was no floor to the house. The family lived on the bare earth. It was worn smooth and hard. At this place they were building a new log house and the men all spent the night in this new structure where they had a fire, but no beds. The workmen spent the night in entertaining their guests by howling like wolves, so there was very little sleep for any one. In the morning the man of the house apologized for his workmen. Said he had kept them on wolf-soup so long they had partaken of the nature of that animal. We

were inclined to believe him, because their imitation was very good, as we learned the following winter in our new home.

We finally arrived at what was then called by everybody, Scott's, now Dewitt. There we found good accommodations. They were prepared to take care of travelers, having a double log-house, provided with appetizing food. At this place my father left the family while he with his three men went on to build a log-house. Another regular stopping place was owned by Mr. and Mrs. Niles, who had been there long enough to be known and who were always ready to help new settlers. My father stopped with them and procured provisions. He was obliged to make a road from the Niles settlement to his land, about six miles. They went to work with a will and felled the trees and trimmed them ready to put together for a habitation. They soon had the logs put in place and a cover over them. The roofing consisted of logs hollowed out like a trough, laid side by side, edges close together, trough side up. Then another row, reversed, covered the edges of the first. This made a rain-and-snow-proof roof. The lumber used in making the doors and window casings was from the boxing of the furniture.

There were no saw mills in the country. Floors were made of the logs split into slabs and adzed off. Smooth boulders were used in making the back and jams to the ample fireplace. A stick chimney finished and topped it out. A settler who lived one mile west of us, having heard strange noises made an investigation. He found my father with a house nearly ready for occupancy. He said, "What are you going to do with such a house? Are you intending to keep hotel?" My father answered, "When you see my family, you will see it is not any too large." This family proved to be desirable acquaintances; there were five sons well educated and companiable.

After three weeks time father came for us. The rains had raised the Looking-glass river so that it could not be forded. We were all taken across the river in an Indian canoe. A pole was used instead of a paddle. We enjoyed the drive through the woods. It was night when we arrived at the Niles settlement, but there was a large living room and a blazing wood fire which gave brightness to the scene and a welcome for the new-comers such as is only known to those who settle in a new country. There we met Mr. and Mrs. Beers who had come the week before from Connecticut. They were building a house. We became warm friends notwithstanding we were five miles from each other. We visited and continued the acquaintance during their lives. There is now

a daughter living in Lansing, Mrs. Anna Smith; two grandsons, Guerdon and Charles Smith, survivors of our pioneer friends.

The journey was ended the following day. We were home. Each one found something interesting. The little brook that ran near the house gave us great pleasure. The new house was warm and comfortable. It was now November; a light snow fell soon after we arrived. Father spent the winter in going to and from Detroit and Dexter for supplies, taking ten days or two weeks each trip. There was no fruit except dried fruits. Portland, five miles, west was a small village. There was one store, that kept a few groceries and a stock of domestic goods, Indian maple-sugar, etc.

The inhabitants were eastern people delightful to know. Two young men called, and came in a "new country" sleigh. It was made of ironwood poles, the bark taken off only from the underside of the runners. This was the first sleigh of its kind I had ever seen. I was greatly amused. Lyons, ten miles from Portland was a larger and more flourishing town. We joined in the festivities of both places. All were neighbors.

As there were few children near us Mr. Shaff, our neighbor, suggested that his son teach the winter school and my older sister teach the summer school. His suggestion was carried into effect. He provided a room in his house until more scholars came into the neighborhood. The State Road Commissioners came through surveying the State road, which passed by our door. That was most cheering to us. Father with his men built a bridge at his own expense across the Looking-glass River, one mile east from us. This bridge remained there many years for the good of the public.

The winters were severe, deep snow, and feed for the stock very scarce. In the spring the soft-maple trees were chopped down for the animals when the buds were full and red. They would trim out a large tree top in a short time and run to the next one when that fell. They subsisted on buds until vegetation became plentiful. Then they were free to roam where they pleased, baring the swamps where vegetation was alluring. Our new milch cow ventured too far and was lost in the mire. That was a real tragedy, so much was depending upon the milk for the family. Bravery and self control had to be called into action. Each one bearing his or her share of sympathy for our mother who knew better than we younger ones what it cost to go without milk.

The sugar maple trees were tapped and maple syrup and sugar was plentiful. Several hundred pounds of sugar were made, which relieved one of the wants of a new country. Fish were plentiful,

the men catching with dip-nets hundred of a night. All surplus was put into half barrels and salted for future use. Wild onions grew along the banks of our brook. In the fall wild-plums, crab-apples and frost-grapes were plentiful. Honey was found in trees. In the beautiful forests of Michigan there was not only honey but also bees-wax, which furnished us with wax candles.

One day when the men were building the house,they neglected to replenish the fire after their midday meal. When they stopped work for the night and came to prepare their supper the fire was out. Numerous efforts to kindle it were made with flint and steel without results; there were no dry kindlings; everything fresh and damp. The only alternative was to go to Mr. Niles' for supper and breakfast—six miles. Returning in the morning, one man carried by hand a firebrand, swinging it to keep it burning. There were no matches at that time.

Our discomforts and deprivations were many but all were overcome by cheerfulness and heroic perseverance. Mother was always cheerful. Reptiles and insects there were, but I will leave them to your imagination to picture. Indians were friendly and always hungry. Their liking for white-man's bread was simply appalling. We bought venison of them whenever they brought it to us. We had no reason to fear them. They were always sober and peaceable.

# SCOTCH SETTLERS OF OAKLAND COUNTY.[1]

BY ROBERT W. MALCOLM.[2]

I have been given ten minutes in which to tell the story of the early settlement of a portion of old Oakland. As you all know, the north half of the Township of West Bloomfield was settled by Scotchmen. The first Scotchman who ever visited this part of the county with any idea of settling there, was a man by the name of Frazier, who, in the year 1819 accompanied General Cass and a company of American officers to the lakes to meet with the Indians.

As you follow the Pontiac and Commerce road past the late David Ward residence, you cross the outlet from Orchard Lake into Cass Lake. Off to your right you will see a range of low bluffs, on one of which the Indians had lighted their council fires, where Lewis Cass and the big braves smoked the pipe of peace and vowed eternal friendship. While the big talk was on, Frazier hired two or three of the younger natives who were not considered worthy of a seat around the council fires of their tribe and with them explored Pine, Orchard, Cass, Green and Upper Straits Lakes.

When he went back to Detroit,[3] he declared it was the most beautiful spot on earth and that at no distant day he would secure a home for himself on the banks of one of the lakes. Frazier's dream of a home there was never realized, so far as he was concerned, but he did the next best thing. Whenever a Scotchman came to the Land Office, where Frazier was an officer he did his best to head the land-seeker toward the lake-country. He was so successful that from the years 1828 to 1835, he had placed some thirty or thirty-five families around the lakes in Oakland County.

[1]Prepared to be read at the midwinter meeting held in Pontiac in February, 1912.

[2]Robert W. Malcolm was born Feb. 18, 1844, on the farm in Oakland county which he now owns and on which he still resides. He was a soldier during the Civil War, enlisting in the 22d Mich. Vol. Inf., August 11, 1862. He was wounded and captured Sept. 20, 1863 and was a prisoner of war for fifteen months. He was discharged from the service July 11, 1865 and returned to his home in Oakland county where he has been engaged in farming ever since.

[3]The statement about Frazier is given here just as I received it from my Father who was a personal friend of Mr. Frazier and received the statement from him. Gen'l Cass went on from Orchard Lake to Saginaw but Frazier went back from the Lake to Detroit.—Author.

The census of 1820 for the village of Detroit does not include any one of the name of Frazier but in the census of the county of Wayne for the same year is given a William P. Fraser. The various histories of Detroit and Wayne county do not speak of such a man in connection with the land office. Alexander D. Frazer, a prominent Scotch attorney who was, for many years, City Recorder and who held other offices also, did not come to Detroit until early in August, 1823 (Wayne County Chronography and Pioneer Biography, Fred Carlisle, Comp.; pub. Detroit 1890)—Editor.

The first Scotchman induced in this manner to locate in West Bloomfield, was a man by the name of Campbell,[4] who came out in the year 1828, but most of the Scotch settlers came between the years 1830 and 1835.

Perhaps no class of settlers ever came to the wilds of Michigan who in some respects were more poorly qualified to meet the hardships of pioneer life than these Scotchmen. They knew nothing of the art of clearing up a farm. If there was a wrong way to go about it they were likely to take it and the only thing that was cheap in the settlement was human muscle. For instance, my father carried all the rails to build eighty rods of fence on his shoulder, rather than hitch his cattle to his old wooden sleigh; and let me say here that he never could learn to drive an ox team.

In other respects no one ever came into the wilds of Michigan better fitted to face the hardships of pioneer life than were they. They had been reared in a land where hardship was the common lot of all. They were used to coarse food and were strangers to luxuries. They could endure the hardships and privations incident to life in the wilderness without a murmur.

My father, George Malcolm, came to Michigan and to this township in June 7, 1832. He settled on the farm I now own, on Section 7, where he died in 1889. The neighbors soon helped him roll up the logs for the walls of his house and he had managed to place the rafters when he was introduced to what the older settlers called "the shakes," otherwise known as ague. For three months he was down on his back every other day. The day he was not sick, he split out his roof boards and nailed them on with hickory pins, and, with my mother's help, he split out the shakes to cover the roof board and pinned them on with wooden pins. He floored the half of the shack with split logs and left a hole in the roof for the smoke to escape. The door he made of split logs. His house was finished and then he left mother and two little ones to run it while he went to Detroit to earn a little money to help keep the wolf from the door.

The first winter they spent in Michigan my father would work at his trade for two weeks, then fill a bag with groceries and walk home with that on his back, a distance of thirty-two miles. On Sunday afternoon he would tramp back to Detroit. My mother was the real pioneer. On one occasion she lived for six weeks without seeing any other person than her two children.

[4]All of the old Scotch settlers spoke of Campbell as the first of the Scotchmen to come to this lake region—Author.

No human tongue can tell the hours of loneliness these men and women endured. It was no unusual sight to see the family, old and young, strike out through the woods to a neighbor's cabin, a distance of two or three miles simply to find companionship. It would take them, perhaps, five minutes to tell all they had done on their clearing, and then they would drift off into Scotch history. Each one of those old worthies were sure that at least once in the history of his native land, his ancestors had saved the country from destruction. Finally they would change off into song when all their troubles would vanish and they were back again amid the scenes of their childhood. When they went back to their humble homes, thanks to the songs of Burns and the Ettrick Shephard, they were again ready to face any hardships.

Did you ever realize that the Scotchman has carried his songs with him around the world? He has sung them amid the desolation of the Arctic, and under the burning rays of the equator; he has sung them on the battlefield, in the hour of triumph and in the hour of defeat; and those songs have done more to carry him to success than anything else. There is only one other people that I know anything about that have clung to their songs like the Scotch, and that is the Irish.

As soon as these Scotch settlers had roofs over their heads they built a school house. They had a university graduate amongst their number and they established him as teacher at the princely sum of $8.00 per month. The first teacher to whom I went received seventy-five cents per week for services and she taught a good school.

No people were ever more clannish than the Scotch pioneers of Oakland County. They would gather for miles around to help each other at a logging or a husking bee, and every one went—men, women and children. They would have a dance in the evening and with a little "mountain dew" they were like Tam 'O Shanter, "O'er all the ills of life victorious."

The one great day in all the year to them was New Year's Day. They would have nothing to do with Christmas that day was to them an invention of the Evil One but all received word to be on hand at one of the lakes by December 27th and from that time on until New Year's Day they played the favorite game[5] of the Scots,

[5]This is the game called "Curling." As I know the game it is played with heavy blocks of granite and with five men on each side. The ice is swept clean so that the blocks can slide easily and each man is armed with a broom with which to drive the blocks. The side that lands its blocks the nearest to the goal—called the "T"—wins. Author.

from early morn uutil late at night, ending with a little party each evening. .

Among the number was Dr. William Wilson, who for fifty-one weeks in the year, looked after the sick, for miles around. But none were so rash as to become disabled during this one week for nothing could induce the doctor to quit the game. If any one called for him he would tell them to "gang awa' hame; they should know better than to be sick at this season of the year."

However, before he let the caller go he would ask where the "loons" lived. Then he would go on with his game, but when night made it necessary to stop he would rush off for home, saddle up his roan, and fill his pockets with bread and meat. No one ever knew from his telling when he returned or how many miles he traveled. He would be on the ice the next morning and repeat this same thing the next night if necessary. It mattered not to him whether he ever received a cent of pay or not and for many years he thus played the good Samaritan to his neighbors.

On one occasion the settlement ran out of salt, so they pooled their cash and sent one of their number to Detroit for a barrel of it. The cost was $3.50 in town and the man was a week going and coming, so the salt came high. They weighed it out to each one according to the cash put in and some families did not have more than five pounds to last for the winter.

About the only means of communication with the outside world was through the travelling missionaries who went from settlement to settlement. Whenever a preacher arrived, the boys were sent out to tell every one where the meeting was to be held, and every one was on hand.

Many of those men were lacking in education but they did worlds of good. They did make some very funny mistakes however, one of them taking his text from Revelations XI, 40, rendered it this way: "The Great White Thorn," in place of throne and enlarged upon what a job it was to hold a steady seat on top of a thorn tree.

The missionaries buried the dead, cheered the discouraged and they toiled faithfully with but little thought or prospects of pay.

No class of people ever settled in Michigan who were more loyal to the land of their birth than were the Scotch settlers in Oakland County. At the same time they were wholly loyal to the land of their adoption and during the great struggle for National life from '61 to '65, more than a score of their sons gave up their lives that a united nation might live.

# BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

AMMI W. WRIGHT, BY JOHN FITZGIBBON.

JOSEPH GREUSEL, BY JOSEPH GREUSEL, JR.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, BY EDWIN O. WOOD.

CHARLES A. BLAIR, BY CHARLES E. TOWNSEND.

HERMAN KIEFER, BY JAMES B. KENNEDY, M. D.

MRS. JOSIAH BEGOLE, BY MARY BEGOLE CUMMINGS.

MRS. SOPHIA HASCALL BUCHANAN,
BY CLAUDE R. BUCHANAN.

ALBERT AND WILLIAM TOOLEY,
BY WILLIAM P. VAN WINKLE.

MELVIN D. OSBAND, BY NELLIE OSBAND BALDWIN.

TIMOTHY EASTMAN, M. D., BY MARY EASTMAN BRIDGES.

WILLIAM PUTNAM.

CHARLES EMMETT BARNES.

HENRY H. SAFFORD.

JEAN BAPTISTE PARRISIEN.

# AMMI W. WRIGHT.

BY JOHN FITZGIBBON.[1]

ONE of the wealthiest men of Saginaw, a friend for many years of the late Ammi W.Wright, of Alma, told the writer shortly after Mr. Wright's death that he could not recall the name of a single person who had been a business associate of Mr. Wright in the past half a century who does not possess more of the world's goods because of such association. Some of the names that he recalled readily are C. W. Wells, F. C. Stone, Congressman Fordney, Charles H. Davis, Gilbert M. Stark, Phil Ketcham, W. T. Knowles, John Killoran, Michael Kelly, Morris Quinn, John H. Pearson, now of Chicago; S. O. Bush, C. E. Thomas, W. H. Mason, E. T. Skinner, Joseph B. Woolfenden, Fred R. Hathaway and ex-Mayor W. H. Eustis of Minneapolis.

At that he did not, as this old Saginaw friend facetiously observed, specialize in making or trying to make other men rich. With him it was a case of having to a rare degree the faculty of intuitively discovering diamonds in the rough. In other words, he found among the young men working for day's wages in his mills and his factories and his other industries material that could be developed for large responsibilities. Then, he developed and utilized it for his own profit, but he did not stop there. It was his rule to give them a piece of the profits that their abilities earned for him. Not profit-sharing by any means. None of them he boosted. When he gave them an opening they had to show him. If they didn't show they quickly went into the discard. Again, his old Saginaw friend remarked that he does not recall a single rough diamond that Mr. Wright considered worth polishing and cutting in his long years of business activities that did not reflect credit on his judgment.

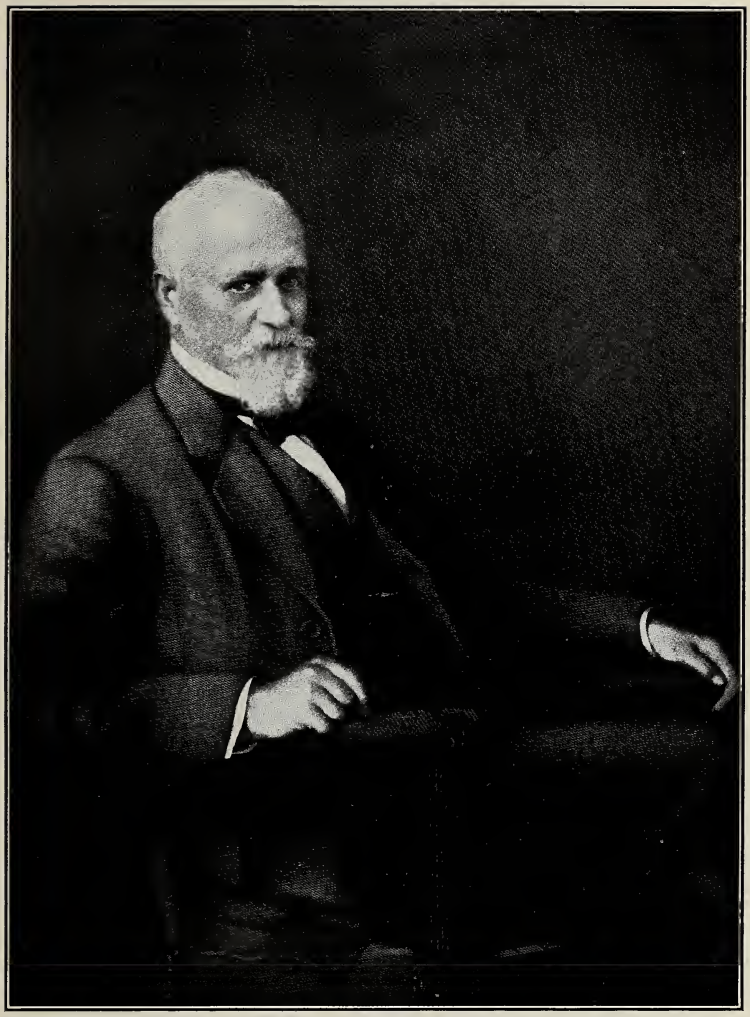
[1]John Fitzgibbon was born in New Jersey, Christmas day, 1862. In 1867 his parents came to Michigan and located on a farm near Flint. He attended the Flint High School. When 18 years old he went to Detroit to "strike out for himself" where he attracted the attention of the late James E. Scripps owner and publisher of the Detroit Evening News, who became his life-long friend. For thirty years Mr. Fitzgibbon has been a reporter, correspondent and political writer on the Detroit News. He represented the News in Cuba prior to and during the period of the Spanish-American war and in the Phillipines during the insurrection there. He has been correspondent for the News during several Congressional sessions at Washington, D. C., and he has attended the legislative sessions at Lansing continuously for twenty years except while in Cuba, the Philippines or at Washington. With the death of Joseph Greusel, Mr. Fitzgibbon became the dean of the legislative correspondents at Lansing.

A good many years ago a boy just out of the Saginaw high school applied to Mr. Wright at one of his mill offices for a position. The boy was dressed suitably to begin work as his cashier with the handling of millions of money annually. Mr. Wright looked him over and remarked that he had nothing to do for a young man with a high school diploma and no experience who wore such good clothes, but if he would come back in the morning with working clothes he would give him a job shoving lumber on the dock. The young high school graduate cheerfully took the lumber shover's job. Charles H. Davis is his name. From a day laborer he rose to be an important partner of Mr. Wright, and only the death of the senior member broke their business relations. Mr. Davis is now one of the wealthy men of Saginaw.

One day Mr. Wright was dickering with the prospective purchaser of a valuable horse that he owned. Mr. Wright, by the way, loved horses, not speed horses particularly, but any kind of a clean, well-built horse. He inherited the love from the Vermont farm where he was born and spent his boyhood days. He made a strike in the Mesaba iron range of Minnesota, where he with a few others, in the early '80s, bought a tract of pine. After they had cut the timber at a good profit, rich iron deposits were discovered, the mineral rights being sold to James J. Hill for $4,500,000. Mr. Hill desired to do some little thing to please his old friend. Knowing Mr. Wright's love for horses, he sent an agent to Vermont to buy the finest young stallion to be found in the state. This was the railroad king's present to Mr. Wright, as an evidence of his appreciation, as he expressed it, of the square deal he always got in his business transactions with him. The larger part of the $4,500,000 is said to have been Mr. Wright's profit from this particular investment, exclusive of what the timber realized before the iron deposits on it were discovered.

But, about the horse he was selling. He mentioned a few minor defects in the animal, that, even had he kept silent about, would not have invalidated the sale. A friend[2] overhearing him recount these defects, observed, when the sale had been concluded, that he ran a chance of spoiling it by being so particular in enumeration of the little weaknesses. To this Mr. Wright replied that his rule was never to misrepresent anything he had to sell, not even a horse. "Now that he knows all about that horse, he'll have

[2]Among the prominent business and professional men of Saginaw, associates and friends of Ammi W. Wright, who furnished the material for this article were the following: Fred H. Potter, Ezra Rust, John Moore, George W. Weadock, Gilbert Stark and others. J. F.



AMMI W. WRIGHT.

From a portrait in possession of his daughter, Mrs. J. H. Lancashire.

no hesitation to come around and buy whenever I again have a horse to sell." A banker, also a friend, who told this incident, said that it well illustrates a trait of Mr. Wright's that made his name a valuable asset in the directorate of any financial or industrial corporation. Alexander McPherson at the time of Mr. Wright's death, president of the Old Detroit National bank, and also of the Detroit Trust Co., in both of which institutions Mr. Wright was a director stated that it was not the amount of capital that Mr. Wright might have had in a corporation that counted quite as much as the prestige that his name gave. He never permitted his name to be used as an officer or a director of any concern that was not doing business on strictly legitimate lines. One of the old-fashioned notions he entertained to the last was that plunging and other forms of high financiering were not necessary to accumulate a fortune, and he had some millions, every dollar of which he made himself, to prove it. The one speciment of humanity that he conspicuously disliked was a liar. No man ever lied twice to him. Having lied once he never got a chance to do it again, for under no conceivable circumstance would Mr. Wright ever again have dealings with him.

The Advance Threshing Machine works, of Battle Creek, is mentioned as one of the enterprises that responded to his idea of square dealing in a way that made several men independently rich. The Advance works had been in a bad way. They were grinding on financial rocks when Mr. Wright came to the relief. The announcement that he had become a large stockholder and an officer of the corporation quickly enlarged by an important figure its line of credit. Within a very few years it was, for the first time, paying substantial dividends, and, within the past year it was sold to a corporation in which there are several similar plants at a price which yielded profits to all of the stockholders that they little dreamed of when Mr. Wright first put money into the business. It is said by one familar with his venture as a threshing machine manufacturer that he didn't know any more about a threshing machine than he learned as a boy on the Vermont farm, but he applied the same principles of safe and intelligent management that controlled in all of his various lines. The result was that the dividends became large and none were ever passed. It is said that he never was known to make a mistake of investing any considerable amount in an enterprise that he couldn't make pay. Sometimes, though not often, his nearly unerring judgment missed

the mark, and, when it did, he had a genius for getting out from under before the loss got very big.

Ex-Judge Moore, of Saginaw, who had been Mr. Wright's chief legal adviser for nearly 60 years, said that he never had known of a business care worrying him, and that probably in his business career, extending over nearly two generations, he did not, all told lose so much as an hour's sleep on account of any temporary disarrangement of conditions in his affairs. This undoubtedly contributed to a life of good health covering nearly 90 years. Nearly 20 years ago a confidential employe of one of the Saginaw corporations in which he was the largest stockholder stole some $600,000 of bonds and negotiable securities from the steel vault in the office building. Mr. Wright stood to be the heaviest loser. A week or two later information was secured that a large package had been placed in a safe deposit vault at Grand Rapids, and there was a suspicion that it was the stolen bonds and other securities. With one of the corporation's lawyers Mr. Wright left on the first train for Grand Rapids, arriving there late at night. In the morning they went to the safe deposit vault. The package was securely wrapped in heavy paper, tied with straps and cords. It being essential to go about opening of the package in a strictly legal way, making minutes of every movement and marking the papers and fastenings, a quarter to a half hour was consumed before the contents were revealed. The day being very warm, and Mr. Wright having no interest in the legal red tape proceedings, he pulled a chair into a corner of the vault and took a nap. The uncertainty as to whether or not his few hundred thousand dollars of stolen bonds and other securities were in the package didn't disturb him in the least. Nearly all of the $600,000 of stolen securities were in the package, which Mr. Wright readily identified when the last wrapper was peeled off and they woke him from his nap.

The plain ways of living that he was accustomed to in his boyhood days—the humble circumstances of his parents prevented him from knowing any other—were the ways that he still liked best when he had accumulated millions. Meats that an average farm cook prepared suited him as well, if not better, than the elaborate menus of expensive hotels and restaurants. He never acquired a dissipating habit, never used tobacco, and didn't care for liquor in any form. Yet he was never known to speak of his freedom from these vices. A few years ago a lifelong friend who, like himself, acquired a large fortune, dropped in for a social hour.

Mr. Wright mentioned that a friend down east had sent him a jug of real Jamaica rum, and he would make a toddy right then and there. Mixing toddies was awkward work for him, so his caller observed, whereat Mr. Wright assented that it surely was. But he went at the job instead of calling a servant to do it. "And," added his friend, "I don't suppose he thought of the jug again until another caller whom he liked well enough to mix a toddy for called. I know he wouldn't take a drink of it alone."

One evening Mr. Wright was in Montreal, and, on short notice, had to leave for New York for an important business meeting the next day. All of the berths on the New York train had been sold. But did the circumstances that he, a man of millions, couldn't get a berth, fluster him? Not a bit. Morris Quinn, one of his humble employes that he started on the road to prosperity, was with him. Mr. Wright remarked that there were ordinary coaches, if no sleeping car berths. So he went into an ordinary coach, followed by Mr. Quinn, and settled himself in a seat and went to sleep, waking up the next morning in New York. Many a night in his earlier years while timber cruising in the Michigan woods he had slept on the ground at night with nothing over him but the sky, and he had roughed it in other ways, so it wasn't an inconvenience worth mentioning to ride from Montreal to New York, at night, in a day coach. When a few hours later he went into the big Chemical National bank in New York, of which he was a director, to see his old friend, George G. Williams, president of the bank and now dead, he didn't look as if he had come into the metropolis with no more style than one of his lumber jacks might have assumed.

But, while Mr. Wright liked the simple living best, there was nothing uncouth in either his appearance or talk. To the last he retained a little of the New England twang. A few inches over six feet and built like a born athlete, he walked as erect as a veteran soldier, even after he had become an old man. Dressed in well fitted but unpretentious clothes, there was nothing provincial about him that would, even in Wall street, attract attention. Even there he would pass before those who didn't know him as the substantial well balanced man of large affairs. In his younger years, in the camps and mills, he was widely known for his physical strength. Then the man of his age who could lift as much as he was rare indeed. The old-timers still tell stories of his feats of physical prowess. If there was anything in particular that would cause a stranger to turn and look at him on the street, it was his fine large

physical appearance and evidence of health, which even his face reflected.

Three of the diamonds that he discovered in the rough among his day laborers years ago, and whom he always warmly liked, were Morris Quinn, Michael Kelly and John Killoran. As their names indicate they came of Irish stock. Morris Quinn in later years became associated with the late Arthur Hill, and still lives in Saginaw, on the west side. Killoran and Kelly went to Minnesota as associates in a small way of Mr. Wright, and now live in Duluth, both men of affairs and wealth. Two of the largest mercantile houses of Duluth, the Marshall-Wells Hardware Co., and the Stoner-Ordean-Wells Co., wholesale grocers, are both said to have been made the successes they are by Mr. Wright. He was to the last a heavy stockholder in both. Both companies are controlled by men who owe their opportunities to him for their prosperity. Joseph B. Woolfenden of the Elliott-Taylor-Woolfenden Co., of Detroit, was a young man in the dry goods business, in a small way in Saginaw when Mr. Wright became a special partner. And, he continued in the business with Mr. Woolfenden when the present house of Elliott-Taylor-Woolfenden was formed.

Mr. Wright felt a particular gratification in the fact that during his long career with his many and varied interests he had but a few lawsuits. About the most important of the few he had was when Sir Roderick Cameron, who then claimed New York as a residence, sued for a commission in connection with the building of the Duluth & Winnipeg railroad, Mr. Wright being one of the builders. The trial was in New York and Mr. Wright won. His opinion of Sir Roderick for presuming to sue him was anything but flattering. In the sale of the road to the Canadian Pacific he formed cordial relations which continued to the end with Sir William Van Horne and Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, and he couldn't understand why a mere promotor should sue him, when in selling the road to Sir William and Sir Thomas negotiations could be carried on to a conclusion without the least misunderstanding, and in a way that when the deal was closed all concerned were good friends.

Perhaps to no one outside of the immediate family did Mr. Wright's death bring more sorrow than to the venerable ex-Judge Moore. When Mr. Wright came to Saginaw in 1853 Judge Moore, who had preceded him by two years, became his personal friend. When Mr. Wright got business enough to need a lawyer's advice, he retained Judge Moore, and the relations of lawyer and client

were unbroken until death came. Judge Moore was 87 years old at the time of Mr. Wright's death. He was the democratic nominee for governor of Michigan in 1868 and in the '70s was circuit judge of Saginaw. His short tribute to his old client is:—

"My friend for nearly 60 years comes to me no more to meet in consultation. My old friend, after these many years you have left me, but I comfort myself with the firm trust that we shall soon meet in the better land."

Alma college, to which Mr. Wright's gifts amount to a quarter of a million dollars or more, is a Presbyterian institution of learning. Yet Mr. Wright himself was a communicant of the Episcopal church. His tolerance in his religious views as here reflected, typified his tolerance in all the affairs of his life.

# JOSEPH GREUSEL.[1]

BY JOSEPH GREUSEL, JR.

JOSEPH GREUSEL, son of John and Susan (Sarvis) Greusel, was born at Glasco, Ulster County New York, August 5, 1837.

Coming to the United States in 1833, the Greusel family settled in New York State, on the Hudson River, in the Catskill region. The Greusel family came originally from the picturesque mountain village of Bliescastel, in the Bavarian Rheinpfalz, where for generations the ancestral home, a massive stone building, has stood, not far from the estates of Count von der Lowe.

In the adjacent forests deer, wild boar, and other large game abounded and in the back country were the iron and coal mines, the deposits of fine porcelain clays, the brine springs, and the renowned forest of St. Ingobert, named after the St. Ingobert of Ireland.

It was in this forest that John Greusel, six feet four inches tall, in his green coat and leggings, and with his woodsman's axe over his shoulder, exercised, by royal warrant, the function of Head Forester of the Austrian forest guard.

At the time of which we are now speaking, 1825-30, French ideas and institutions prevailed in the Bavarian Palatinate as the result of long wars in which the tricolor of Napoleon bore down the red, black and gold of ancestral Austria. The Greusel family suffered losses in all these wars, as well as in the earlier Napoleonic campaigns, especially in the retreat from Moscow, wherein Captain Harry Greusel died miserably of cold and starvation. He was a gallant cavalryman under the famous Marshal Murat, who led Napoleon's retreat. The Greusel family, after coming to America had a representative in every war of the United States, from Colonial days down to the battlefield of Gettysburg.

The St. Ann's church records show that the Greusels came to Detroit in the summer of 1834. The original Greusel homestead stood on high ground on the banks of the River Detroit, on the front end of the Reeder farm, where also the original Greusel brickyard was located. This brickyard furnished brick for Fort Wayne and for the old Dearborn arsenal. In fact a large proportion of the City

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1913.

of Detroit, up to the early '90's, was built up of bricks made by John Greusel and his sons. Among these sons was Joseph Greusel, the subject of our memior.

In the old house on the river Joseph Greusel spent his happy boyhood days. To go to the Loranger district school the lad had to travel some miles, walking along the river highway, where the swallows made their homes in the sand—and the primeval forest still encompassed the environs of the hamlet of Detroit.

One of the earliest recollections of Joseph Greusel's was the burning of old Fort Wayne. He and his companions in order to play a prank on the commander, wrote with a stick in the ashes, "Poor old Fort Wayne"—for which the lads were summarily ordered off the reservation.

A windmill stood at the mouth of Knagg's Creek, but the schoolboys used to avoid going inside the mill, fearing that all they had heard of Knaggs and the Indians was true and that the place was haunted. Overtaken by a thunderstorm, Joseph and his younger brother slept in the old mill one night and the creeking of the mill-vanes in the tower made it a night of horror to be often remembered and narrated in later years.

Joseph Greusel outgrew the Loranger district school house and then became a pupil of the famous old pedagogue, Bradford Smith, whose stern rule laid the foundation for many an after success, in that generation. A list of Bradford Smith's boys would include the names of many of the notable men of Detroit and Michigan. In after years the boys held reunions to honor their old teacher by public expressions of good will. Joseph Greusel, to the end of his life, was proud to say that he was one of Bradford Smith's boys. This early training in the classics fitted Joseph Greusel for college, but he never entered on account of business necessities.

The family removed, in the '50's, to the present Greusel homestead on the Chicago Road, (Michigan Avenue), where the original dwelling still stands, one of the picturesque old-time buildings in Detroit.

John Greusel, the father of Joseph, influenced no doubt by his services as Head Forester, was prompted in later years to acquire large tracts of land near Detroit and at different times owned 1,200 acres of virgin timber. He cut down the forests to make cordwood to burn in the brick kilns. Eventually, the lands, sold to settlers, became part of the City of Detroit and grew immensely valuable—although according to the custom of the time Mr. Greusel's pay was often taken in straw, grain or farm products.

Some tracts he retained, although but a fraction of his original holdings, became the foundation of the family fortune.

Joseph Greusel, at this period of his life superintended gangs of woodsmen and in later years he often boasted of the manner in which he had swung the axe in the forest. His exceptional health and physique were no doubt largely due to his early life in the open. When Joseph Greusel was a little older he taught in the old Livernois log school during the winter months. The benches were rude hand-made affairs; there were no charts or maps and the township did not concern itself about the lack. Teacher and pupils had to make the blackboards and supply the more necessary requirements.

This unusual type of schoolmaster, severe but kindly, made his boys toe the mark, taught subjects never before introduced into a rural schoolhouse, drilled the lads in military tactics as well as in oratorical attainments and went out at recess time to lead the boys in their snowball fights.

Joseph Greusel always had keen admiration for the classical drama and had his life been cast in other lines, would, in the opinion of many close critics who have watched his career, have been an actor of marked ability. The dramatic instinct was strong in him and often showed in his writings as well as in his speeches on public occasions. While a school teacher, he frequently trained companies of the boys and girls in the Springwells district and produced locally comedies, tragedies and histories. But this was not all for mere amusement; rather it was a combination of educational and practical expediency, for the funds so raised were donated to the needs of the school.

In addition to their studies he made the boys cut firewood for the old box stove and to do all manner of useful work to keep up the log school house and grounds. In many diversified ways the teacher endeavored to harden his pupils to the practical business of life, as well as to store their minds with useful information. In this endeavor he was in a large measure successful. Each term he felt he ought to give up the school to carry out his own personal ambitions, but it was hard for him to give up his labor of love. He had taken the place at first only as a substitute, in an emergency—but the trustees begged him to stay and increased his pay. To this day, one occasionally finds among the grey-haired men of Detroit an old pupil of Joseph Greusel, who delight to recall that this old-time teacher exercised the best disciplinary influence

JOSEPH GREUSEL AND HIS GRANDSON.

of their lives; and Joseph Greusel himself always regarded the time spent in the log school as among his happiest days.

It is, however, as a journalist that Joseph Greusel will be long remembered as one of the vital forces of his day and generation. He represented what may be called the journalism of obligation and conscience, taking a broad wholesome view of life, based on a desire to help men forward, rather than to push them down. He associated himself with the Detroit *Free Press* in the early days as one of the proprietors and for nearly fifty years was a leader in Michigan journalism.

It is a long and an interesting story and may not be told in detail at this time but suffice it to say that there are hundreds of men, indeed thousands, in this State, that owe their first public recognition to friendly words by Joseph Greusel, who in turn, having done good by stealth, "blushed to find it fame." He naturally liked to discover what men were trying to achieve and to encourage them.

In the course of his years he traveled from one end of the state to the other on special journalistic tours, meeting leading men and acquainting himself with conditions and movements, until there was not an obscure corner in which he did not have friends. Incidentally, he saw the entire state develop from pioneer conditions to its present stage of progress.

Joseph Greusel always took a deep interest in the pioneer element in Michigan history and did all in his power to help in the preservation of the history of Michigan in song and story. He always regretted whenever one of the musical Indian names of counties bestowed by Schoolcraft gave way before the practical side of an image-breaking generation. To the last, he maintained that it was a grievous error not to have retained Indian names in every possible case for our counties, bays, lakes and rivers.

For many years, Joseph Greusel was regarded as a sort of "avant courier" of journalism in Michigan. He reached every political battle ground both at home and in other states. President Roosevelt offered to Joseph Greusel the post as Minister to Bernambuco, Brazil, but the post was declined. Mr. Greusel let it be quietly known that he would never leave Michigan.

Honors fell thick and fast upon him, but he waived them modestly aside. When Superintendent Martindale wished to name a Detroit public school after him, Joseph Greusel, replied:

"Name it, instead, after my father."

During a national political fight for one of the highest federal

offices in Michigan, President Roosevelt, declining to appoint a certain well-known Michigan leader, who was the choice of the two United States Senators, said:

"I will appoint any other man whom you suggest."

The logical decision fell on Joseph Greusel, who was asked by the Senators if he would accept, the circumstances being fully explained to him.

"No," he instantly replied, "I will not consider it under those conditions. Mr. Blank is honestly entitled to the appointment and should have it."

In order to clear the situation and not wishing to be urged against his spirit of fairness, Mr. Greusel immediately left Washington. The original appointment prevailed.

Joseph Greusel's newspaper letters on special events were signed by the pen-name "Yusef." They covered the largest political and social movements of his day. He was the oldest legislative correspondent in Michigan, in point of years as well as in service. His work has passed into a tradition for accuracy, interest and above all, for downright honesty. The deadly foe of all manner of sensationalism, he presented his ideas in the simple style of a man who does not think evil of his neighbor. Many anecdotes could be given to show how far this was carried but, in passing, it may be mentioned that, although Mr. Greusel was present with vigilant eye at sessions that were severely criticised, it is a fact that throughout the hundred or more scrap-books that hold his legislative papers, you will seek in vain to find one defamatory line, even a whisper of suspicion. The explanation is extremely simple. He was an honest man, himself, thoroughly honest in his own life and in his views of other men's activities. It consequently never occurred to him that other men were less honest than himself.

Being a man of independent fortune Joseph Greusel was in no wise dependent on his journalistic income, a circumstance that gave still larger freedom to his pen. He positively refused to do anything or accept anything that did not square with his sense of justice.

Joseph Greusel attended every national convention from Lincoln's day and cultivated the acquaintance of leading delegates in both political parties. Thus, he never had any difficulty in getting at the inner councils of the elect. His forte consisted in reporting proceedings of large deliberative bodies, but he was also a descriptive writer of wide, picturesque views.

In the summer of '77, Bishop Borgess of the Diocese of Michigan, returning from a visit to the Vatican, was welcomed home by a memorable demonstration. Part of the plan was to break the world's record in a fast run from Buffalo to Detroit, on a special train. Mr. Greusel was aboard, and his description of the sensational flight from St. Thomas to Detroit, 111 miles in 109 minutes, is one of the classics of journalism. It has been reprinted not only thousands but tens of thousands of times and has since been incorporated into some of the school readers as an example of the literature that endures.

His treatise, "Reciprocity With Canada," was quoted in full in London, England, and was commented on by the leading statesmen of Canada and Great Britain. In his later years Mr. Greusel worked for memorials and historical tablets, (notably the Macomb Statue, the Williams Monument) and lent his thought and pen to the Alger Memorial Association.

The breadth and enduring purpose of Joseph Greusel's work may not here be told in full. His interests were as wide as the great State of Michigan and from the Pictured Rocks to the Southern line, he knew and loved it all. "Michigan, My Michigan" was his favorite song. His writings have a strong tinge of reverence for his state and a broad love of our land as a whole. There was throughout a large historical instinct, and in his papers one finds studies of the life and times of Lincoln, Robert Morris, Washington, Franklin, and the leaders of the Colonial and Revolutionary wars.

On one occasion, he gave a lecture on Lincoln, with lantern slides by Mr. Arthur Mosley, the two collaborating for a happy evening.

One of the pleasantest of his stories was of the relations of Lincoln with Mr. James F. Joy of Detroit. Mr. Joy helped the "Great Emancipator" in his days of struggle and hardship as an obscure country lawyer, making it possible for him to earn his first big fee of $5,000. Mr. Greusel's history of the house in Detroit where John Brown planned the Harper's Ferry raid is delightful reading, as is also the quaint story he tells of Samuel Post who sat on a fence to see Lincoln inaugurated. Another study deals with the ancient mounds opened on the Detroit River by the late Bela Hubbard. Mr. Greusel who had a life-long friendship with Gen. O. O. Howard, Gen. Phil Sherman and other noted leaders, wrote on these men and their careers. He also made a review of

the life of Gen. George A. Custer, the great Michigan cavalryman.

Mr. Greusel had a happy way of writing about big men and their ways. His account of Jay Gould, Russell Sage and their lieutenants on their celebrated Michigan trip, makes reading that is not only interesting but authentic. He toured with Ben Butler, who ran for President on the Greenback, Labor and People's tickets, 1884, and made this trip the subject of several articles. He wrote appealingly of Monsignor Capel, the great Catholic prelate; of Don Antoinne de la Torre, son-in-law of Diaz; of Hidalgo, the Mexican priest and patriot.

He wrote with power and pathos of that day of sorrow on which Senator Zach Chandler's body was returned from Chicago to Detroit and of the impressive scenes and incidents of that hour of fate. He pictured in a masterly personal interview the forlorn Senator Jacob M. Howard, on the occasion of that great man's forced retirement from national politics, likening the pathetic figure of the broken Senator to the melancholy grief of Marius, musing on the ruins of Carthage.

He was at the last campfire of the Algonquins on the upper shore of Lake Huron, in Canada, and he heard and graphically depicted the sorrows of the vanishing race, which concluded with the solemn farewell of Chief Jones not unsuggestive of the departure of Hiawatha:

> "I am going—oh, my people. on a long and distant journey—
> Many moons and many winters will have come and will have vanished
> Ere I come again to see you."

Joseph Greusel also traveled through the far parts of the world and wrote on historical and social topics, affecting the great men of all countries. By special request Mr. Greusel was the personal guest of Senator Howard at the twenty-eighth encampment of the Army of the Tennessee. He visited the field of Waterloo and his inspirational word-picture of that historical spot grips the imagination. He also wrote graceful sketches from the land of Bobby Burns; of the Bavarian Tyrol; of old Alsatian cities, and of the Schwabian land; of Bismarck in retirement; of Gladstone; of visits to the homes and haunts of Victor Hugo, Napoleon, Garabaldi, Emperor William I and other of the world's great modern figures.

Coming closer home mention must be made of his sketch of the life of Orestes A. Brownson, one of the extraordinary men of the middle of the 19th Century. He told the spirited story of Gen. Sam Houston; the life of Randolph Rogers, Michigan's great sculptor,

who was first sent by Stewart, the dry goods king, to study art abroad. There is the history of the old Wayne County court house and the introduction of Hazen S. Pingree to the people, a sketch that subsequently became the basis of the best that ever was said of that rugged Michigan leader. It is important to emphasize that many of Mr. Greusel's special interviews have in them the materials of permanent history. As an interpreter of political outlook, he was without a superior and many of his forecasts of events now read like the final revealed verdict of history.

In political life Joseph Greusel attended every session of the Michigan Legislature for 45 years, either as correspondent or member. He represented Detroit from 1903 to 1908, inclusive, and was re-elected to the Legislature of 1912-13. In all, he served four terms. During the campaign of 1903, Mr. Greusel, who was helping the Hon. George A. Loud in the Tenth Congressional district, left his own election to such decision as his fellow-citizens might determine. His entire campaign expenses amounted to a check for $10, to pay his assessment for the convention hall, and a two-cent stamp for mailing. Out of the 22 candidates on both tickets, Mr. Greusel received the highest number of votes.

In 1912 he was elected alternate delegate to the Republican National convention and he was one of three managers in the first campaign to elect J. C. Burrows to the United States Senate.

His independent study of history led him to discount many popular movements. In 1903 he introduced a resolution for a constitutional amendment empowering municipalities to own and operate street railways; in 1905 a resolution for the direct election of United States Senators. He did not believe in either plan, yet he was willing to let the people try them.

In closing this sketch we refer with reverence to Joseph Greusel's steadfast loyalty to his city, his state and to his country. On no subject was he more at home than that of the Revolutionary War and he took his grandchildren with him during various summer vacations to visit the old battlefields and to fortify the youthful mind with stories of the noble past. He took just pride in the fact that he was the lineal descendant of soldiers of the days of Washington, through Lieutenant Isaac Lockwood, 1639-1688, Norwalk, Connecticut, Sergeant Robert Lockwood, died 1658, Fairfax, Fairfield, Connecticut, Regimental Captain Nathaniel Seeley; the Wygants and other related lines.

Through many long years, Joseph Greusel followed his intuitive love of reading. He usually selected serious books, preferred bio-

graphy and history. His habit was to read at night, often till two or three o'clock in the morning. As he read, he smoked his pipe or his cigars. The last thing he did just before turning out the gas, was to light his candle, in the old-fashioned brass candlestick, a souvenir from his mother's house and led by the dim rays of this taper, he would go through the long hall and up stairs, to his room. Such was his practice, for many years. He was often questioned by the younger generation about the use of the candle, but he clung to it to the end. It was a touch of sentiment in a man singularly free from the outward expression of his feelings.

He passed his entire life of 76 years in two city homes, in the last of which he resided for nearly 35 years. The house No. 949 West Fort Street, Detroit, at one time was surrounded by elegant homes and gardens but business encroached nearer and nearer, which made the neighborhood undesirable. Mr. Greusel would not leave the homestead built for him by his father and continued there.

For many years the same tailor made his clothes and the same shoemaker his shoes. He clung to a certain style, regardless of vagaries of fashion. He wrote with a pen, slowly and carefully and his handwriting was as clear as copperplate and very beautiful in character, to the day of his death.

It is pleasant to add that at the time of his death, February 13, 1913, Joseph Greusel was President of the Michigan Society, Sons of the American Revolution and also was an associate member of the Detroit Post G. A. R. His family was the recipient of many soldierly words of courage and patriotism.

# REUBEN GOLD THWAITES.

BY EDWIN O. WOOD.

AT its recent meeting, the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society was honored by the presence of one of America's most noted historians, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society. At that meeting this distinguished man and eminent scholar was elected to Life Honorary Membership in our Society. Four months later, on October 22nd, death entered and removed from us the subject of this sketch, and it is fitting that we should at this time pause and reflect upon his useful life and illustrious career, and place upon our records a tribute to his memory. Dr. Henry Morse Stephens, Professor of History in the University of California, wrote as follows:

"Reuben Gold Thwaites was of English parentage; his father was a Yorkshire manufacturer, and his mother's relatives were iron masters in the same County. His parents came to the United States in 1851, and he himself was born in Boston in 1853. When just out of the High School at Dorchester, Massachusetts, he found it necessary to make his own living and went West as a lad of seventeen in 1870. Like so many famous Americans he passed through the regular stages of working on a farm, teaching school, and writing for a newspaper. The farm was in Wisconsin; the country school he taught, a real old-fashioned log schoolhouse, was in Winnebago County, Wisconsin; and he began his career as a newspaperman as city editor of a little daily paper at Oshkosh in the same state. While earning his living in these different callings the future editor devoted all his scanty leisure to study. He could not afford in those years the expense of a college course, but hammered away by himself at the books prescribed for study at Yale and Harvard.

"Eventually, when about twenty-one years of age, he made his way back to the Atlantic coast, and although without a college degree he was admitted to postgraduate work at Yale University. For a year and a half he maintained himself at New Haven by newspaper correspondence, and then after writing for a time in Boston, he made his way back to Wisconsin as representative of the

New York Times, and settled down in 1876, at Madison, as managing editor of the Wisconsin State Journal, then a large and flourishing paper. So far the story of the life of Doctor Thwaites differs not much from that of thousands of enterprising young Americans who have pursued knowledge diligently along the same lines and have educated themselves while earning their living in the three honest fashions, of farm labor, school-teaching and newspaper work. But it is doubtful if any of the great editors of historical documents of the old world ever had this characteristic American training, and it is instructive to see that the American without the highly specialized education of the European has yet attained to an equal proficiency in his chosen calling.

"In the year 1886 came the chance of Thwaites' life. In that year Dr. Lyman Copeland Draper suggested that Thwaites should succeed him as Secretary and Superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The post was exactly suited to Thwaites' tastes. Dr. Draper had devoted his life to getting together the wonderful collection of documents illustrating the growth of civilization in the middle west, which is the glory of the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. Thwaites himself frequently told of the way in which Draper gathered these documents, and from 1886 onward the first duty of Thwaites' life was the arranging and enriching of the Draper collection. He used to tell in his own fascinating manner the incidents of his chase after documents among half breeds and fur traders, and although the work may not be so toilsome as it was in the days of Draper it can only be successfully carried on by one who has the hunter's instinct for scarce historical material and the tact to win it from its possessor.

"To house in adequate fashion the fast growing collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society became one of the cherished aims of its secretary's life, and in due time has arisen the sumptuous building at Madison, which is at once the library of the State Historical Society and of the State University, and which, both in its arrangements and in its architecture, owes much of its completeness and usefulness to the suggestions and the energy of Doctor Thwaites himself."

The *Outlook* gave expression to its estimate of Dr. Thwaites as follows:

"The recent death of Reuben Gold Thwaites, who for more than a quarter of a century had been Secretary and Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, removed a man to

whom historical scholarship in the Middle West owed a great debt. Dr. Thwaites had done more perhaps than any of his contemporaries to bring to light the materials of Middle Western history and to make them available to scholars. There had been great collectors before his time—his predecessor in the office at Madison, Dr. Lyman Draper, was one,—but Dr. Thwaites was an organizer and systematizer as well as a collector.

"In practically every Wisconsin county there is a group of men and women who have been brought by Dr. Thwaites to realize the dignity of local history and who have developed, in their own community, an efficient co-operating force for the rescue and preservation of the memorials of the past; and that Wisconsin has a most interesting and varied past is well shown in the seventeen volumes of "Collections" that Dr. Thwaites edited for the Historical Society. Every County newspaper (Dr. Thwaites had been a newspaper editor himself for more than ten years of his life) became enlisted in the cause, and many of them gave effective aid in building up the great library at Madison.

"Dr. Thwaites was the author of the two best short histories of Wisconsin, of popular lives of Father Marquette and Daniel Boone, of 'France in America,' and of a brief history of Rocky Mountain exploration; he was also an authority on the Colonial period of American history. But the work with which his name will always be associated is the monumental series of 'Jesuit Relations,' in seventy-three volumes, which he edited. This remarkable publication, comprising the journals of the French priests in America for the entire period, 1610-1790, contains not only the chief sources available to the historian Francis Parkman, but a great mass of material that Parkman never saw. The researches prosecuted by Dr. Thwaites admirably supplemented and rounded out the pioneer work of Parkman on the period of French domination in the old Northwest. In his own way Thwaites was building for the future historical research quite as solidly as the brilliant Parkman in his time had built."

*The Nation* thus briefly but concisely comments upon the work of Dr. Thwaites:

"Far outside the circles of scholarship, the announcement of the death of Reuben Gold Thwaites will bring a feeling of distinct loss to the whole Middle West. More than to any man since Parkman, credit is due to him for the upbuilding of the romantic and colorful history of the Old Northwest. The interest of the States of the region in the French and British periods virtually dates back

from his installation as Superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society in 1886, and as editor of the Wisconsin Historical Collections since that time. His many publications, his zeal as a collector, and his influence upon historical scholarship at the University of Wisconsin have been a leavening force long and widely acknowledged. His chief fame, of course, rests upon his resurrection of the Jesuit Relations,—a resurrection as striking as the more recent discovery, in southern Illinois, of the Kaskaskia Records. But better testimony to his powers and industry lies in the many State, University, and city collections of Western history built up after his thought, and the many lecture rooms and studies in which research is carried on after his own spirit."

Primarily perhaps delving into the past, especially to add material pertaining to Wisconsin's early history, Dr. Thwaites found a rich field in the "Old Northwest Territory," or as designated by the preceding commentators, the "Middle West." In this research with its great harvest, Michigan necessarily came in for a large part. The early explorers who journeyed through Wisconsin, or down Lake Michigan, or to the upper Mississippi River practically all passed through the Straits of Mackinac, entering what later was known as the "Old Northwest Territory" through Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan or from Niagara and Detroit up Lake Huron. The early history of Wisconsin is interwoven and interlocked with that of Michigan, and both states, as years passed, were important adjuncts of the central historical unit known as the Old Northwest.

In this especial field Dr. Thwaites takes perhaps first place. In years to come the name of Reuben Gold Thwaites, as editor, historian and collector, will have an enduring place in the historians' hall of fame, together with that of our own Clarence M. Burton Michigan's great collector of original documents and manuscript. The latter has recently given to the public (the city of Detroit) a collection which is priceless in its value because much of it cannot be duplicated. Each of these men had a vision of the value in centuries to come, of matter pertaining to the Great Lakes region, and they have accomplished more in their respective lines, and rendered greater service to their country than many who have been honored with the highest positions in state or national government.

The generous, sympathetic and eager interest exhibited by Dr. Thwaites in the work of the Michigan Historical Commission will come back to those who met him at Lansing a few months ago, in vivid memory. He was present at almost the birth of the new de-

partment of history made a State bureau by the last legislature. He commended in the strongest terms the act creating the Commission, and predicted that it would mark a new era in the advancement of Michigan's historical work and accomplishments.

What Michigan should have been doing in perhaps larger degree for the fifty years gone by, Dr. Thwaites has done to quite an extent for us, and it now remains for those entrusted with the important trust of compiling and discovering fragments of Michigan history, to look upon the life of Dr. Thwaites as a beacon light and an encouragement leading them to greater zeal and effort.

Let the memory of his presence at the inception, organization, and during the formation period of the Michigan Historical Commission and at the meeting of this State society remain a benediction and an inspiration.

In electing Dr. Thwaites to honorary membership in this society Michigan honored herself, and while we mourn with our sister State, Wisconsin, the home of his adoption, yet we claim him as a part with us, for his life was largely devoted to recording the history of the Wolverine State, side by side with that of the Badger commonwealth.

# CHARLES A. BLAIR.[1]

BY CHARLES E. TOWNSEND.[2]

CHARLES A. BLAIR, son of Michigan's "War Governor," Austin Blair, was born in the Blair home on Lansing Avenue in Jackson, Michigan, on April 10th, 1854. He was the second of four sons born to Austin and Sarah Blair, and as boy and man his entire life was spent in his native city until 1905 when, under the Michigan law, it was necessary for him as Justice of the Supreme Court to move his home to Lansing. He attended the Jackson schools from his childhood till his graduation from the high school in the summer of 1872. In the autumn of that year he entered the Literary department of the University of Michigan from which he graduated in 1876 with high honors as an unusually accomplished student, a philosophical thinker, a logical and exact reasoner. He was the poet of his class and while his business and professional associates seldom saw what is commonly known as the poetic element in his life still it was his in abundance. He was not a dreamer as men know dreamers. He was not given to sentimentality of the demonstrative order. His soul did not often express itself in metrical language but he felt the unexpressable things which lie too deep for utterance but which furnish food for the real poet. In the solitude of the deep forest, in the quietude of the placid lake and stream, in nature's studio he caught the lights and shades which paint the poet's dream.

In 1909 his Alma Mater conferred upon him the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He became a member of the Alpha Delta Phi fraternity while in Ann Arbor and this with the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks were the only secret organizations with

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1913.

[2]Charles E. Townsend was born in Concord township Jackson county, Michigan, August 15, 1856. He prepared for college at the union school in Jackson and attended the University of Michigan for one year. He taught school for fifteen months in District No. 6 of Concord and for nearly seven years was principal of the High School at Parma, Michigan. While teaching at Parma he was elected Register of Deeds for Jackson county, in November, 1886, and served in that office for ten years. During that time he studied law and was admitted to practice in the Jackson circuit. He formed a law partnership with Charles A. Blair and Charles H. Smith under the firm name of Blair, Smith and Townsend. In November, 1902, he was elected a member of the 58th Congress from the Second Congressional District of Michigan and was re-elected thereafter three times. He entered the primaries for the senatorial nomination in Michigan against United States Senator Julius C. Burrows and in August, 1910, received the nomination at the hands of the republicans of Michigan and is serving his first term in the United States Senate.

which he affiliated. He was especially happy in his membership in the Elks. Its simple yet impressive articles of faith appealed to him. He liked the genuine fraternity which not only breathed in its ritual but which was a quickening spirit through its incarnation into life and action. Busy man though he was he found time to accept the honor which his brothers thrust upon him, by making him their Exalted Ruler.

After graduating from the University he entered upon the study of law with his father at Jackson and in September, 1878, was admitted to the bar of his county and state. From the very beginning of his law study he demonstrated those analytical qualities of mind, that intellectual and moral honesty which impressed all who knew him with the fact that his legal career had brilliant possibilities. He was at one time City Attorney for Jackson and later was made Prosecuting Attorney for his county, positions which he held with credit and distinction.

He formed a partnership with his father and George S. Wilson under the firm name of Blair, Wilson and Blair; later with Thomas E. Barkworth and still later with Charles H. Smith and Charles E. Townsend under the name of Blair, Smith and Townsend. Upon the disssolution of this firm he entered into partnership with Benjamin W. Williams.

In 1902 Mr. Blair was nominated and elected Attorney General of Michigan, and immediately entered upon the most important litigation the State had ever had. In 1899 the legislature had enacted what is known as the ad valorem method of taxing the property of railroads and other common carriers.[3] That law meant much not only to the railroads but to the people. Under its provisions the taxes on these carriers were increased more than three hundred per cent and twenty-seven of the Michigan railroads combined and brought suit in the federal court for the western district of Michigan to restrain the Auditor General from collecting the taxes levied against them under the new law. Capable and distinguished lawyers were employed by the roads and the law under which the tax levy was made was attacked on both constitutional and legal grounds. Attorney General Blair had charge of the State's case and he keenly felt the great responsibility which rested upon him in his efforts to sustain that law in the interests of the people. Before the law was passed an appraisal of all the railroad properties in the State had been made but one of the contentions of the roads was that the State Tax Commission had

[3]Act 19, Public Acts, 1899. Bill approved March 15, 1899 and given immediate effect.

assessed the railroads higher proportionately than it had other properties of the State and it became necessary to bring that appraisal down to the date of the suit. This was a great task and upon its proper performance much importance was placed by the Attorney General. There were many counts in the complainant's bill and Mr. Blair gave to all of them his great ability and conscientious attention. He, with others assisting him, presented the case before Judge Wanty at Grand Rapids and the argument he made to the court was pronounced by distinguished lawyers who heard it as one of the most profound and convincing ever delivered before that distinguished tribunal. The result of the trial was a complete victory on every material point for the State and the subsequent approval of the decision of Judge Wanty by the Supreme Court of the United States fixed it as a land mark for the future in railroad taxation matters.[4] By this decision nearly six million dollars was paid into the State Treasury for the benefit of the Michigan schools.

Before this suit was determined in the Supreme Court and while it was still pending there, Mr. Blair was nominated for Justice of the Supreme Court. The legislature had increased the court from five to eight members and three men were nominated for these additional judges in 1904. Mr. Blair was nominated for the five year term. He was elected by nearly one hundred and ninety thousand majority. From the very beginning of his service on Michigan's highest court he took front rank with its distinguished members. His decisions were models for clearness and precision. He was not only a master of logical reasoning but he was quick to grasp the salient points of the case and he could and did express his opinions in the clearest and best of English. It is never difficult to understand what Justice Blair meant, when consulting his opinions.

At the end of his term of five years on the Michigan Supreme Court he was unanimously renominated by his party at Grand Rapids for a second term and at the April election in 1909 was triumphantly reelected.

Space forbids that I should go into detail in recounting his work on the Supreme Court of Michigan. I shall have to be content with saying that he had the unbounded confidence of his associates on the bench, of the lawyers who practiced before him and of the people of Michigan. In his hands the scales of justice were nicely balanced at all times. Never for a moment did prejudice, passion or special interest exert the slightest influence over his

[4]Mich. Cen. R. R. vs. Powers, Auditor Gen'l of State of Mich., 201 U. S. 245.

JUSTICE CHARLES A. BLAIR.

mind when he was interpreting the laws of his State. He was too big for prejudice. Passion could find no lodgement in his soul. He knew no distinction between men save that which separated the right from the wrong.

Something over a year ago Justice Blair's friends noticed that his physical health seemed impaired. He was aging unduly for his years and his old time vigor was apparently waning, but he did not complain and would not obtain medical advice. The grim messenger, however, had called and would not be denied admission.

Finally sheer exhaustion compelled the judge to consult a physician who, upon a careful examination, discovered that Bright's disease in a most advanced stage existed. Rest and quiet was enjoined. At once the spirit of poetry and philosophy of the afflicted man turned to Nature's resort on Portage Lake. There with his sorrowing family he went, hoping against hope, that with quiet and rest beneath the stars, by the still waters of the lake in Nature's ample sanitarium, a reasonable degree of health might be restored; but the malady was too firmly fixed; the springs of life were run too nearly dry. On August 24th, 1912, he was taken back to his home in Lansing where he died five days later. His body was taken to Jackson, where, covered with flowers spread by loving hands, it was deposited by the side of those of his distinguished father, his beloved mother and his children gone before.

Mr. Blair was married to Miss Effie C. North on October 8th, 1879. To this union four children were born two of whom died in December, 1886. Two survive their father, George F. Blair, a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and now married and living at Portland, Oregon; and Helen Blair living with her mother at Lansing. Such is the simple yet eloquent story of Charles A. Blair.

I cannot close this sketch, however, without injecting some personal reflections. I knew Charles Blair personally and well during the last thirty-six years of his life. Probably I was closer to him than was any other man of his acquaintance. So far as he shared his confidences with any one he shared them with me. I have fished and hunted with him, many, many days. I have known him in times and places where words and actions are not counterfeit. I knew of the fearful struggles he had years ago to overcome conditions which are not present with all men. I knew of his glorious victory. I had the invaluable blessings of his honest mind and his splendid heart and head. We were friends, and from the stand-

point of a friend who knew him I would not say in his physical absence what he would not sanction if he were to act as censor of my remarks.

I hold that Charles A. Blair was a good man, a splendid lawyer, a just and upright judge. What better can any biographer say of his subject?

The physician who attended him during the days of his last illness tells me that Justice Blair knew that the inevitable was with him and yet that he met his end with that same dignified resignation and manly demeanor with which he faced every responsibility of his life.

He had an abiding faith in the hereafter. He felt that future existence was a fact; that somehow, somewhere the work of love would be continued and that death does not end all. He always had his window open toward Jerusalem and through it day and night streamed the blessed hope of immortality. He did not loudly profess but he eloquently lived the doctrine of fraternity which is but another name for Divinity.

# HERMAN KIEFER.[1]

BY DR. J. B. KENNEDY.

HERMAN KIEFER was born November 19, 1825, at Sulzburg, Grand Dukedom of Baden, Germany, and was the only son of Dr. Conrad and Frederica Schweyckert Kiefer.

His academic and professional studies were thorough and liberal. He first attended the high school of Freiburg, beginning in his ninth year, and afterwards in turn those at Mannheim and Carlsruhe, completing his preparatory course at the age of eighteen years. He then began the study of medicine, at the University of Freiburg, continued the following year at Heidelberg. He later attended the medical institutions of Prague and Vienna. At various times, he was under the instruction of such distinguished masters of medical science as Arnold, Henle, Oppholzer, Stromeyer, Pitha and Scanzonia. In May, 1849, he was graduated, with the highest honors, upon his examination before the State Board of Examiners at Carlsruhe.

A degree received from such a source implies a prolonged and assiduous study, which America is but now beginning to appreciate and, in a modified degree, to imitate in its requirements. The venerable institutions at which Dr. Kiefer spent fifteen years of his boyhood and young manhood, stand before the educated world as favorable examples of the vast and perfect machinery by the agency of which Germany has so well earned the name of being a nation of scholars.

There is very slight probability that Dr. Kiefer would ever have become an American but for one agency—the same which has given the United States much of the best blood and the best brains of Germany—that of revolution. He had scarcely received his doctorate, when there broke out the revolution of 1849. In common with thousands of his fellows among the educated youth of his country, he embraced the cause of the people, with all the ardour and enthusiasm of his years, flinging his future carelessly aside, to fight for a downtrodden race against the almost invincible power of organized authority. He joined the volunteer regi-

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1912.

ment of Emmendington and was at once appointed its surgeon. With that regiment he was present at the battle of Phillipsburg, June 20th, 1849, and at that of Upstadt, on the 23rd of the same month. It was at the former engagement that Prince Carl, later Field Marshal of Germany, was wounded and narrowly escaped capture by the regiment to which Dr. Kiefer was attached.

When the Revolution was suppressed, Dr. Kiefer, among thousands of others, was compelled to flee the consequence of his patriotic service. He took refuge in the city of Strasburg, then under the dominion of the French Republic, of which Louis Napoleon was president. Even there he did not find a safe asylum, for the Republic declined to shelter the refugees from Baden. The spies of Napoleon—a tyrant under the cloak of popular leadership—discovered his place of concealment, arrested him and he was again compelled to flee. Making his way to the sea-board, he took passage upon a sailing vessel for the United States, leaving port August 18 and arriving in New York on the 19th day of September, 1849.

America was then far less cosmopolitan than now and lacked much of its present advanced standard of professional and general scientific attainment. It did not present a promising field to a highly educated German and we can imagine that the necessity for leaving behind him the possibilities of success and distinction in his own country must have been a bitter one to an ambitious young man, fresh from the scholastic atmosphere of Heidelberg and the gayety of Vienna.

Still, there was no question of the necessity and he made the best of the situation. After a brief sojourn in New York he turned his face westward, intending to establish himself permanently in St. Louis. On the way, however, he met a countryman, who had for several years lived in Detroit and he was led to turn aside to that city.

The population of Detroit in the autumn of 1849 was little if any more than 20,000. Michigan was still provincial, and neither in social nor business methods, had outgrown the crudeness of its earlier days. Less than five months before, Dr. Kiefer had stood before the State Examiners of Carlsruhe and received his diploma with no other thought than that he should live, work and die in Fatherland. Since then he had been a soldier, a fugitive and now he found himself, an alien in tongue and blood, facing fortune in a western city of America.

He opened an office for the practice of his profession, on the

19th of October, 1849 and, in spite of all his disadvantages, soon won a pronounced success. His practice was, almost from the first, sufficient for his needs and it grew year by year, until it came to be exceedingly absorbing and lucrative.

It may be well to say here that Dr. Kiefer has always held very dear and given every effort to preserve the spirit and the literature of the Teutonic race. In the statement that he is also a thorough and loyal American, the anomoly is only apparent, his devotion to the country which gave him shelter in his exile, is not at all impeached by his desire to see the language, the grand literature and the social and historical traditions of Germany perpetuated among his compatriots.

He always took a deep interest in educational matters. He was one of the founders of the German-American Seminary, a school incorporated by the State of Michigan for finished instruction in all departments of learning, to be given equally in the German and English language so far as practicable and desirable. Of this institution he was president and treasurer from the time of its foundation in 1861, until 1872. He then resigned and served all connection with it, by reason of a disagreement with its other members upon what he regarded as a vital matter of educational ethics. It was always his belief that no teaching of religious doctrine or creed should be introduced into school instruction. His associates proposed to make the Seminary a sectarian institution and his withdrawal was the consequence.

During the years 1866 and 1867, Dr. Kiefer was a member of the Detroit Board of Education and used his utmost influence to induce that body to introduce the teaching of German into the public schools of that city. He made repeated efforts in this direction, urging his point upon the grounds of the practical utility of the language and also as a right which German citizens were justified in demanding. In spite, however, of his utmost efforts, he failed to secure the desired legislation.

In 1882, Dr. Kiefer was elected a member of the Public Library Commissoin, to fill a vacancy for a period of one year. In 1883, he was re-elected for the full term of six years. When he assumed this office, there were very few German books in the library, and the fine and thoroughly representative collection of works in that language now upon the shelves, was almost entirely selected and purchased under his personal supervision. Considering the numbering of volumes and the sum expended, it would be difficult to find a library which better illustrates the thought and literary

methods of Germany, in science, history and the *belles letters*. To the memory of Dr. Kiefer is due the thanks, not only of Germans, but of all scholars and investigators, for the important service thus rendered.

Dr. Kiefer was a member of the Wayne County and the State Medical Societies, and of the American Medical Association. He was recognized at home and by physicians throughout the country, as a skillful, successful and scientific physician. For thirty-four years he devoted himself to his practice, finding time only for the public service named. This close attention to his professional duties prevented his making any elaborate contributions to medical literature but his papers in various periodicals devoted to the interests of his profession have been many and have done much to spread his reputation in other cities and States.

For many years, Dr. Kiefer held a representative position among the German citizens of Detroit and Michigan and upon all occasions he was their champion. In all his public life, he endeavored by tongue and pen to convince the public that the German-born population of the United States should be respected, as wholly equal to the native born people. He claimed nothing for his countrymen as Germans but he insisted on the fullest political and social recognition of their rights as citizens of the United States. He claimed recognition for their language and social customs and he claimed for them the right to pursue their happiness in any way which should not infringe upon the equally sacred rights and liberties of others. In his own family Dr. Kiefer paid a tribute to Germany, by insisting upon the exclusive use of its language and this influence he supplemented by educating several of his children in the schools of his native land.

He was an active member of many of the German societies of Detroit and represented his countrymen upon various important occasions. He took a prominent place at the Singers' festival held at Detroit in 1857; at the Festival commemorative of Schiller's centennial in the year 1859; at the festival of Humboldt, in 1869; and in 1871, when all German-America was wild with joy at the successful ending of the Franco-German war, he acted as president and orator of the day at the peace celebration held by the German citizens of Detroit on the first day of May.

In politics, Dr. Kiefer was a steadfast and consistent Republican since the organization of that party in 1854. There was nothing in his character that would render "trimming" or vacillation possible to him, no matter how dearly his political allegiance might

cost him. During the campaign made by the Republicans in 1854, he was chairman of the German-Republican executive committee of the State of Michigan.

In 1872 he was one of the Presidential electors of the State and, in 1876, was a delegate to the Republican National Convention held at Cincinnati. At that Convention, when after four ineffective ballots, the delegates were seeking to unite upon a compromise candidate, he was influential in inducing the Michigan delegation to give their united support to Rutherford B. Hayes.

In every Presidential campaign from 1854 until 1880 he worked actively for the success of the Republican party, going upon the stump and exerting his influence very effectively among the German citizens of the State. He was an eloquent speaker, recognized by all as holding his opinions with as much honesty as tenacity and his leading position among his compatriots gave him an influence which was invaluable to the Republican party.

In spite of his long and arduous service, Dr. Kiefer held but one Federal office. During the month of July, 1883, he was appointed by President Arthur consul to Stettin. Once before, in 1873, he revisited his native land, spending six months in travel, but his return as an official representative to a country which he had left as a political fugitive less than twenty-five years before, was an especial gratification to him.

The office, too, was much to his taste. He gave close attention to his duties and made an intelligent study of political, social and trade conditions, the results of which he transmitted to the Secretary of State in a large number of valuable reports, many of which were published by the Government. Among these may be named his "Report on Beet Sugar," published in Volume XXXIX of the United States Consular Reports; "Report on Base Burners" in Volume XI; "Report on the Extension of the European Trade in the Orient," in Volume XLII; "Report on American Trade with Stettin," in Volume XLVI; "Report on Agricultural Machinery," in Volume XLVIII; "How Germany is Governed?" in Volume I, "Report on Labor in Europe," published by the department of State in a separate volume. These are by no means all the reports made by Dr. Kiefer during his official service of but eighteen months, but they furnish a sufficient evidence of the activity and zeal with which he performed his duties.

Upon the election of a Democratic President, Dr. Kiefer was one of the first officials to resign his office. This he did in a characteristic letter addressed to the Department of State imme-

diately after the election and while the Cabinet, of course, was still Republican, in which he expressed his unwillingness either to be "a victim of the political guillotine or to see civil service reform managed by the Democrats."

On the 21st of January, 1885, he retired from his office. For several months thereafter he remained in Europe, traveling extensively upon the continent. In September of the same year he returned to America and, upon his arrival at Detroit, was complimented with two formal receptions—one tendered by his fellow physicians; the other by the German residents of the city. He brought with him from his brief official life an enviable reputation for zeal and ability in the discharge of his duties.

In the Spring of 1889, Dr. Kiefer was appointed a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan to fill a vacancy created by the death of Moses W. Field. In 1893 he was nominated and elected to the same office for a full term of eight years, which terminated December 31st, 1901. During his incumbency of the office of regent, Dr. Kiefer was particularly interested in the department of Medicine and Surgery, and it was largely through his efforts that the new Medical building was procured for that department. In June, 1902, following the end of his service as Regent, the Board of Regents conferred upon Dr. Kiefer the honorary degree of M. D., and appointed him Professor Emeritus of the Practice of Medicine in the Department of Medicine and Surgery. This was in recognition of his services in behalf of that Department. The faculty of the Department of Medicine and Surgery had a life size portrait painted of Dr. Kiefer, which still occupies a prominent place on the walls of the faculty room of the new Medical building.

Soon after coming to America he was joined by his mother. She was accompanied by Francisca Kehle, to whom Dr. Kiefer had been affianced in Germany, and to whom he was married July 21, 1850. During the year 1851 his father also came to Detroit but the father and mother returned to the old country after but a brief residence in America.

Dr. Kiefer and Mrs. Kiefer passed together nearly sixty happy and prosperous years—in fact they would have celebrated their sixtieth wedding anniversary July 21, 1910, but for the death of Mrs. Kiefer, August 6, 1909.

The couple have had seven sons and two daughters, and of these, five sons and one daughter grew to manhood and womanhood, as follows: Alfred K. (died November 30th, 1909, aged 57 years);

Arthur E., Manager, Detroit Edge Tool Works; Edwin H., artist, New York City; Edgar S., President of the Dahm & Kiefer Tanning Co., Chicago; Hermine C., wife of Dr. Carl Bonning, Detroit; Dr. Guy Lincoln Kiefer, Health Officer of Detroit.

# MRS. JOSIAH W. BEGOLE OF FLINT.[1]

BY MRS. MARY BEGOLE CUMMINGS.[2]

MRS. HARRIET BEGOLE, widow of the late ex-Governor Begole, died August 17, 1911, at 906 Beach Street, Flint, Michigan, which had been her home for nearly fifty years.

Her parents, Manly Miles and his wife, Mary Cushman, were residents of Homer, Courtland County, New York, where she was born November 25, 1817. Through her mother she was a lineal descendant of Captain Miles Standish and Robert Cushman of Plymouth, Massachusetts.

In 1837, with her parents, five sisters, two brothers and an aged grandmother, she drove from their old home in New York to Buffalo, where they took a boat for Detroit, the trip consuming three days. From there a part of the family with their own carriage, the remainder in the stage-coach, drove over the old military road to Flint. Purchasing a tract of land two miles north of the town, a log house commensurate with the size of the family was erected and with the courage men possessed in those days, the forest was gradually converted into a farm.

April 22, 1839, Harriet Miles was married, at the family home, to Josiah William Begole, and with him she made her home in another log house on another new farm located still further in the forest. Here four children were born to her, and here she lived for eighteen years, during which time the log house and stumpy fields gave place to six hundred acres of cultivated land and modern buildings. In 1857, the family moved to Flint, which was thenceforth her home although she accompanied her husband to Lansing and to Washington when his duties called him to those cities.

During the Civil War when Mrs. Begole's eldest son was wounded at the battle of Kennesaw Mountain, and her husband, who had gone to care for him, was worn out and ill, she took the long journey to Lookout Mountain, to care for him. A pass from General Thomas

[1]Read at the annual meeting June, 1912.

[2]Mrs. Mary Begole Cummings, the eldest child of Governor and Mrs. Josiah W. Begole, was born in the town of Genesee, Nov. 22, 1840. Her early education was obtained mostly in the public schools of Flint, Michigan, where the family moved in 1857, and she afterwards attended Boyd's Young Ladies' Seminary in Monroe, graduating from there in 1861. In 1866 she was married to Mr. William Cummings and has been the mother of five children.

HARRIET BEGOLE (MRS JOSIAH W. BEGOLE.)

permitted Mrs. Begole to occupy a seat in a long train carrying reinforcements to the army. There was not another woman on board. She stayed for weary weeks with her son till death ended his sufferings. Then she brought his body home.

A few years later, during a typhoid fever epidemic in Cincinnati, another son was stricken and she nursed him through the long illness until she could bring him home. The attending physician told her that dozens of his patients were dying for lack of such care as she gave her son. There were no trained nurses in those days, but her mother's instructions had prepared her to care for her family in all ways. She was never idle; and when past ninety years of age did many pieces of dainty needle work for her friends.

Mrs. Begole and her husband were always actively identified with all religious and philanthropic work in the community in which they lived. In the early years of their married life they helped to organize a church near their farm. On their removal to Flint, they joined the Presbyterian church of that place. Mrs. Begole was always a leader in church work. She also was an active member of the Ladies' Library Association of Flint being treasurer of the Association at the time they built the first woman's club house in Michigan.

# SOPHIA HASCAL BUCHANAN.[1]

BY CLAUDE R. BUCHANAN.[2]

*"A beautiful and chaste woman is the perfect workmanship of God, the true glory of angels, the rare miracle of earth, and the sole wonder of the world."*—HERMES.

SOPHIA HASCAL BINGHAM afterwards Sophia H. Buchanan was named by the Indians, O-ge-ma-ke-ge-do-qua because she was fleet of foot and often in her girlhood days ran races with the Indians. She was born at the old Sault Ste. Marie, December 11, 1833. She died at Grand Rapids, Michigan, March 11, 1910.

He who would know the child, must know the ancestry. Her father, Rev. Abel Bingham, was born in New Hampshire in 1786 and her mother, Hannah O. Brown, was born in Washington's administration in 1794, in New York State. They came to the Sault in 1828, under the auspices of the American Foreign Mission Board and remained there until 1855.

The Rev. Abel Bingham[3] was a man of fine dignity, tall in stature, of commanding presence and, as I remember him, extremely reserved. He made a fine and lasting impression upon all whom he met and knew and this included the Indians.

He served in the war of 1812 and was wounded in the battle of Plattsburg. Some Englishman shot him in the forehead with a bullet and a piece of the frontal bone was dislodged. It was worth while in those days to be a hardshelled Baptist.

Men of the type of the Rev. Abel Bingham, men of enterprise, intelligence, education, religious principle, moral worth; men of knowledge of their fellows and of ability to command; men who, in holding their lives not too dear, made these lives still more valuable,—these are the men who opened up the new country and made our present civilization possible. These men stamped in-

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1912.

[2]Claude R. Buchanan was born at Grand Rapids, Oct. 17, 1858 and is the son of John C. and Sophia H. Buchanan. He attended the public schools of Grand Rapids and graduated at the Grand Rapids High School in 1877. In 1881 he received the degree of A. B. from the University of Michigan and from 1881 to 1888 he taught school in Michigan, Illinois and Iowa. He was admitted to the Bar at Grand Rapids, Sept. 18, 1888, and has practiced law in that city ever since. He was married to Matilda Sharp of DesMoines Iowa in 1885 and they have one son, Claude S. Buchanan.

[3]Called by the Indians "Father Bingham."

delibly upon their children a quality of character that can never be effaced.

Mrs. Buchanan[4] was born on the site of the present Court House, in the Baptist Mission building, a large, two story wooden building, facing east.[5] A photograph of this, from a carbon or ink sketch, shows quite a building, with a scaffolding on one side, surmounted by a bell, which rang when the boats came up the river.

On the Mission site there was a huge boulder, deeply embedded in the earth, and from six to eight feet high, weighing many tons. This rock was worshipped by the Indians at the time. They believed that the spirit of their great god, *Gitchie Manitou,* dwelt in the rock. Nor is this so crude, for if we study the mythology of the Indian, we will find in it a touch of the beautiful and exquisite imagination of the Greek.

Fort Brady[6] was then on the river bank below the rapids, instead of south of the city on the high land as it is now. West of the Fort was a meadow called by the soldiers "the Green" and the village was built along the river bank above "the Green." There were probably 300 or 400 people at Sault Ste. Marie in the winter, but many visitors in the summer. The society was good though limited and included the officers from the fort and government employees.

From 1833 to 1854, a peroid of twenty-one years, Mrs. Buchanan as a babe, a child, a girl, and a young woman, was reared and educated at the Mission home and school among French, Indians and Americans in about equal numbers. The Ojibwa tongue was as familiar to her as English and French. A careful religious training, with systematic daily reading and study of the Bible was begun at this time and never abandoned.

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[4]Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert who has written several interesting articles on early days at Sault Ste. Marie and Grand Rapids for the Mich. Pio. & Hist. Colls. and Mrs. Robinson were also daughters of Rev. Abel Bingham and sisters of Mrs. Buchanan.

[5]This house was the Baptist Mission house which stood almost in front of the present court house. It was the second frame building erected at Sault Ste. Marie and it was built in 1829 by Rev. Abel Bingham.

[6]"The U. S. Government took its stand as the protector of the great gateway of marine commerce in 1822, since which time, with only two interruptions, Fort Brady has been garrisoned by her regular soldiers. The old fort occupied what is now the site of the federal building and for years was protected against Indian attack by a high stockade. In the canal park is preserved the very ravine crossed by Gen. Cass when he pulled down the last British flag on the soil of the United States.

"Fort Brady now occupies a commanding site of 75 acres, in the southwestern part of the Soo, and, from a splendid rise of ground, overlooking the city * * * The buildings of the present post were not all completed until 1895 although part of the officers' quarters and barracks were so far finished in the fall of 1892 as to be occupied by troops. Co. F. of the post was the first to be received, Nov. 25, 1892 and three days later came the second company from Fort Mackinac (which fort was then in the process of evacuation because the U. S. government had given the government land and holdings on the island to the state of Michigan for park purposes).

"The 26 acres upon which stood the original Fort Brady was ceded to the U. S. by the Chippewas, June 16, 1820, the locality having been selected by the French for military purposes in 1750 when Chevalier Repentigny constructed a stockade." —P. 327 to 329, Vol. 1, History of the Northern Peninsula of Michigan and its people by Alvah L. Sawyer (Lewis Pub. Co., Chicago.)

There was at this time plenty of work to do, plenty of hardships to endure, constant danger to face. Mr. Bingham's life was frequently threatened but he was a man without fear and when the Indians came really to know him well they had great respect and veneration for him.

The Binghams were a family of singers. Two of the girls had fine lyric soprano voices, two had contralto voices; one son possessed a rich baritone voice, and the mother also could sing well. As many of the Indians were fairly good singers and there was a small accordion to accompany the voices in the old familiar hymns that had been translated into the Indian tongue, the service was both enjoyable and inspiring. Mr. Bingham preached through an interpreter.

Mrs. Buchanan lived at the Sault nearly twenty years, until the time of her marriage. At intervals she visited at Grand Rapids, where her brother, Rev. Judson Bingham, a Baptist clergyman, preached and supplied the pulpits in the surrounding territory. At one time she attended school at Utica, New York.

At the same time that this girl was growing up into young womanhood in this frontier life, a young man of Scotch-Irish descent (born in New York State in 1823) moved with his family to Pennsylvania in 1834, and with his father and brother, prepared to make a journey to the wilds of Michigan. The father who was a gunsmith, took with him about $400 worth of guns.

They left in October or November of 1842, taking a boat at Dunkirk, New York, and crossing Lake Erie to Detroit. From there they went by train as far as the vicinity of Pontiac, where the road ended. They left their goods at Pontiac, and tramping with rifle in hand across the State by way of Kalamazoo in a foot or a foot and a half of snow, they arrived at Grand Rapids November 15, 1842.

This young man, also, was not afraid of a cold bath, for I find that he was baptized Christmas morning, 1843, in the Grand River back of the site on which the Eagle Hotel now stands.

His father built, with his aid, a home on the property site of 218 East Fulton in 1844, a portion of which still remains in the rebuilt structure. Here he lived from 1844 to the time of his death in 1902, his only absence being three years of service in the Civil War. Mr. Newton Cook, one of the oldest residents of Grand Rapids, says that this residence of 58 years on Fulton Street is the longest single residence in one place in Grand Rapids that he knows of.

Grand Rapids in 1831 was a mere Indian station. The old Baptist Mission was on the west side of the Grand River,—old Chief Noonday's[7] house was on the hill and Louis Campau's trading post was located on the East side in the heart of the present business district on the site of the Old National Bank.

These with the wigwams of the savages completed a typical Indian settlement. The village was not incorporated until 1838 and the city of Grand Rapids not until 1850. In 1842 Grand Rapids was but a small village of a few hundred inhabitants.

In due course of time John Claude Buchanan, all-round pioneer and gunsmith, and Sophia Hascal Bingham, the fleet-footed girl from the north, met at Grand Rapids. Their courtship took place in the Higgins homestead which was then on Fulton Street but was afterwards moved to the Baars' family site on Fountain Street, where it is still standing.

Mr. and Mrs. Buchanan were married in 1854 and they went to the Fulton Street home to begin housekeeping. Mr. Buchanan worked at his trade. During the administration of James Buchanan and up to the time of the Civil War, he manufactured guns for the Government. When the call came from Lincoln for volunteers, he enlisted August 12, 1861, entering the service as first lieutenant. He was mustered in September 23, when he went to the front, leaving behind him his young wife and two infant sons. He served three years, and became Captain of Company D, Eighth Michigan Infantry, which he had joined when it was organized at Grand Rapids.

Captain Buchanan was at Beaufort, South Carolina, January 1, 1862; at the battle of Coosa; at the taking of Fort Pulaski; at Newport News; at Fredericksburg; at the Racoon ford on the Rapidan; at Bull Run; at Chantilly. Under General McClellan his regiment went through Maryland and struck the Confederates at South Mountain. The next day, September 17, Captain Buchanan was at Antietam, where he was wounded in the right arm.

After the war Captain Buchanan gave up the trade of gunsmith and, adopting dentistry as his profession, became Doctor Buchanan. He and his wife spent the remainder of their lives in Grand Rapids. Both were connected with the Baptist church there between fifty and sixty years. He was a deacon over a long period of years and she was made a deaconess. For many years she pre-

[7]Chief Noonday was of the Ottawa nation and was at the head of the Indians of the upper village at the Rapids. His Indian name was Qua-ke-zik. Vol. 30, P. 180 Mich. Pio. & Hist. Colls.

pared the communion. She was active in church missionary work and charities and there were certain families that she aided substantially for a generation.

The Buchanan children were taught the old-fashioned religion of simple faith, and were required to read the Bible through from cover to cover, three chapters every week day, five every Sunday. Cards and dancing were rigidly tabooed in those days but only a few years rolled around before the dancing master put in an appearance. He won out first with the women and children and then with the men. Cards followed; then the theatre and finally it would have been considered an educational omission not to have seen Booth, Barrett or Modjeska act Shakespeare.

Mrs. Buchanan was a student of Shakespeare for about twenty-five years, until the time of her death. Her study was thorough and systematic. She was a member of the Shakespeariana in Grand Rapids for twenty-three years and she wrote on a wide variety of subjects relating to Shakespeare leaving a large number of papers on this subject.

She was also a charter member of the Ladies' Literary Society of Grand Rapids and, for many years, seldom missed a Saturday afternoon at their fine club house. In the Old Settlers' Association of Grand Rapids she was an active and life long member. She always attended their annual meetings in the winter at the Morton House and seldom missed their summer meetings at Reed's Lake. Mrs. Buchanan also was a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sophie de Marsac Campau Chapter of Grand Rapids. On founders' day in 1909 she read an interesting and able paper on the life, personality and character of "Sophie de Marsac Campau, Gentlewoman."[8]

Mr. Buchanan deeded the homestead to Mrs. Buchanan when he went to the War. He never took it back. She proved herself the financier of the family. Later she converted the house into a double flat, occupying the larger side where she had room for her family and to spare, for she was fond of company. She was a tireless, almost indefatigable worker in everything she undertook and was active up to her last sickness. She took roomers and boarders, when times were hard and business dull. While rearing and educating her children she taught her three boys to work and not to be ashamed of it, to hustle for the dollar from their early boyhood.

[8]This article is printed in volume 38, Mich. Pioneer and Historical Collections, pp. 64-69.

She kept tight hold of the old home and property and when she passed on, she passed it intact to her children. In this house was celebrated, May 1, 1859, the first golden wedding in the town, that of Rev. and Mrs. Abel Bingham.

# ALBERT AND WILLIAM TOOLEY.[1]

BY WILLIAM P. VAN WINKLE.[2]

ALBERT AND WILLIAM TOOLEY, brothers, were typical Michigan pioneers and belonged to that body of early settlers without whom the Michigan of today would be a dream.

Their homes were on the Grand River Road between Detroit and Lansing just east of Howell. The location was conspicuous but their individualities were more conspicuous still. Albert was the older and the stronger character, unassuming but positive, always a leader rather than a follower.

They were both born in Wayne County, New York; Albert on May 8, 1820 and William, August 23, 1823. They came to Michigan and settled on adjoining farms on sections four and nine, Township of Genoa, Livingston County. Albert came in 1841 and his brother three years later. Their residence was continuous on these farms until their death, with the exception that Albert lived in Howell for a few months. William died March 2, 1909, being nearly eighty-six years old and Albert died on February 12, 1910, within a few weeks of his ninetieth birthday.

Their span of life covered a period of almost a century. When they were born, James Monroe was president of the United States, its fifth president, and the United States had a population of less than ten million. Thus they lived to see this country grow from ten million to eighty million population.

Albert was eight years old when the first white man settled in Livingston County. He was thirteen when the first white child was born in the County; and was seventeen when Michigan became a state.

The Tooley brothers lived to see the sail boat and the crude steamship replaced by the floating steam-propelled palace capable of carrying the entire population of a small city across the At-

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1912.

[2]William P. Van Winkle was born on a farm in the Township of Putnam, Livingston County, Michigan, August 2, 1858. He taught in the country schools during the winters and worked on a farm summers from 1875 to 1882. In 1881 he graduated from Law Department of University of Michigan and was married in 1884. He has practiced law in Howell, Mich., since October, 1886, where he was prosecuting attorney for four years, from 1887 to 1900. Since 1904 he has been president of First State and Savings Bank of Howell, Michigan, and the president of the Brighton State Bank, Brighton, Michigan, since 1910. He is still actively engaged in the practice of law.

lantic in five days. They saw the ox team give way to the horseless carriage. They lived to witness the harnessing of the lighting to serve mankind in ten thousand different ways. They saw more progress during these eighty-five and ninety years than they would have seen had they lived a thousand years at some periods of the world's history.

Both were members of the "Livingston County Pioneer Association" organized September 27, 1871; and Albert was the survivor of the original founders of that organization. He was also the leading spirit of the association and its secretary and treasurer from its beginning to the time of his death.

Col. Solomon Peterson was the first white settler in Livingston County and he came in 1828. He settled on the banks of Portage Creek in the southern part of the county, where he remained two years the only white man in the county and he was a bachelor. The second white person to settle in the county came in 1830.

I have enjoyed the acquaintance of many of those who came between 1830 and 1850, and have heard many accounts of the real pioneer life in Michigan.

In Livingston County for forty-three years, from the first settlement to 1871, the stage coach and wagon drawn by oxen or horses were the only means whereby its inhabitants had communication with the rest of the world. The first railroad was built in 1871.

The Tooley brothers came to their pioneer home in the Michigan forest at the age of twenty-one years and for seventy years kept up their activities. I have pased their homes frequently and have seen Albert, then 85 to 88 years of age, plowing, cultivating and actually performing all sorts of active farm work. It has been said to me by one of my respected seniors that a good time for a man to die is when he had finished his work.

Few men plow and sow, reap and mow after they are eighty years of age, as they did. They were men who took the bitter with the sweet, mingled joy and grief, and out of the whole brought forth smiles and thankfulness, counting their mercies rather than dwelling on such misfortunes as came to them.

These men as typical pioneers of Livingston County, sought for true success, and therefore did not seek ease. They knew that success comes only to those who lead the life of endeavor.

Henry VanDyke says "Life does not consist merely in reaching the goal but in enjoying the journey on the way."

These men did both and left conditions better than they found them.

Here is their creed as I see it from their lives, expressed in the language of the poet:

"I will start anew this morning with a higher, fairer creed;
I will cease to stand complaining of my ruthless brother's greed;
I will cease to sit repining while my duty's call is clear;
I will waste no moment whining and my heart shall know no fear.

"I will look sometimes about me for the things that merit praise;
I will search for hidden beauties that elude the grumblers gaze;
I will try to find contentment in the paths that I must tread;
I will cease to have resentment when another moves ahead.

"I will not be swayed by envy when my rivals strength is shown;
I will not deny his merit, but I'll try to prove my own;
I will try to see the beauty spread before me, rain or shine;
I will cease to preach your duty and be more concerned with mine."

# MELVIN D. OSBAND.[1]

BY MRS. NELLIE OSBAND BALDWIN.[2]

MELVIN DURFEE OSBAND during his long life, saw our beautiful state literally carved out of the primeval wilderness.

He was born at Palmyra, New York, April 22nd, 1824, and the next year in October, 1825, his parents bade farewell to civilization and came "way out west to Michigan." They came by way of the Erie Canal, portaging their goods seven miles around the unfinished part at Lockport. Thence they embarked on the steamboat *Pioneer* for Detroit, where they arrived after having spent one week in covering the five hundred miles.

At this time John Q. Adams was President of the United States and Lewis Cass, territorial governor of Michigan. Detroit had then not quite two thousand inhabitants, and was surrounded by virgin forests. Indeed, there was not a single civil settlement between it and Puget Sound.

Sixteen miles from this little country village Mr. Osband grew to manhood, experiencing the deprivations incidental to life on the frontier.

The first Osband came over from England in the good ship, *Elizabeth,* in 1637, the year of the Pequot War. At the breaking out of the Revolution, Melvin Durfee Osband's grandfather, Weaver Osband of Tiverton, R. I., enlisted in the patriot army and served seven years, becoming ensign. He never applied for a pension—he said he fought for his country, not for a pension. This ancestor,

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[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1913.

[2]Nellie Osband Baldwin, only daughter of Melvin D. Osband, subject of this sketch, was born in Lansing, Mich., in 1865, was graduated from the Lansing High School, class of 1883.

In 1885 she was married to Frank A. Baldwin, manufacturer of Grand Rapids, Mich., since 1889.

Two sons, now actively engaged in business with their father, took the engineering course at the University of Michigan, the elder, (Class of 1908), receiving his diploma from the same hand as did his father 31 years before, that of President James B. Angell.

Besides home making Mrs. Baldwin has kept pace with the trend of modern life. She is identified with the Ladies Literary Club, the Social Welfare Association, Young Womans' Christian Association, Equal Franchise Club, District Nursing Association, and other philanthropic movements which meet the present day demands. She is also a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution and Michigan State Pioneer and Historical Society.

Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin have developed a love of travel and besides viewing the wonders of our own United States, have spent many months in Mexico, Cuba, Egypt, Palestine, Turkey and Europe, and upon their return from any journey, Mrs. Baldwin has been often called upon for "travel-talks."

Ensign Osband, emigrated to Palmyra, N. Y., in 1791, becoming a pioneer in that state. His son, William Osband, father of the subject of this sketch, inheriting the "wanderlust" or pioneer spirit of his father, emigrated to Michigan in 1825.

When Melvin Osband was but a youth his hip became dislocated, the result of a fall, and in consequence his life work was clerical which fortunately accorded with his tastes. He early developed a love for reading and books were not easily obtained in those days. One winter while attending college in Detroit, he went without an overcoat and used the money to obtain some coveted books, otherwise beyond his means. An education he was determined to secure and he never ceased to be a student. He had a most retentive memory and a mind stored with useful information, so that in his last twenty years there flocked to him for help in school work, not only his own grandchildren, but other men's grandchildren, to all of whom he was "Grandpa." He was never so happy as when searching out some fact in history, some Indian legend, some poem, some quotation, some cause and its effect for the school boys and girls in the neighborhood. One grandson gave his authority as "Grandpa or the Standard Dictionary." Another said that everyone should profit by his example and use as careful judgment in selecting his grandfather. Nor were the children the only ones who came to this fountain of knowledge. Women in charge of literary clubs were indebted to Mr. Osband for much rich material which went into their papers. A neighbor once said "To the children, Grandpa is a benediction and to the grown-ups he is a continuous lesson, proving that a person may be old in years, yet ever young."

He dearly loved the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, which he joined in 1884. He attended each annual meeting until 1904 when, much to his regret, his strength was inadequate. He justified his membership by contributing generously to Volumes 4, 8, 14, 22, 28, 29, and 32 of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections. These contributions of knowledge at first hand are not only authentic but are pleasant reading, expressed in good English and written in an entertaining style. Mr. Osband's "Recollections of Pioneers and Pioneer Life in Nankin," in Volume 14, is particularly interesting. While his account deals with individuals of local fame, his description of the manner of living at that date is typical of any frontier life in the United States.

Mr. Osband moved to Lansing in 1857, in advance of the railroad or telegraph. In 1859 he married Helen M. Hoskins, daughter of Dr. Thomas Hoskins of Scio, Michigan. A son and daugh-

ter were born to them, of which only the latter (Mrs. F. A. Baldwin of Grand Rapids), survives and with whom Mr. Osband made his home after the death of his wife in 1892.

In personal habits, Mr. Osband was an example of purity. It might be said of him as was said of Abraham Lincoln, "of liquors he did not know the taste." He never used tobacco.

In his youth he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church, but during the anti-slavery agitation, he withdrew from that organization, became an abolitionist, and threw his influence with the Wesleyans. In 1857 he moved to Lansing, taking a letter from this church. Because his theological ideas had changed and became broader, this letter was not presented for many years, for well the holder of it knew that in the '50s, '60s, and even the '70s, the door of every orthodox church would be closed against him. At that time any man who indulged in individual views of his own, no matter how pure his life and upright his purpose, was kept without the fold. He must conform to certain prescribed rules of belief drawn up and crystalized by churchmen centuries before. When Mr. Osband went to Grand Rapids he was most heartily welcomed to the fellowship of Park Congregational Church by the Reverend Dan F. Bradley, pastor. He, at this time, paid his wife the highest possible tribute. She was a member of a strict church, and Mr. Osband always attended worship with her, so regularly that even his children supposed him to be a member. Upon making his home in Grand Rapids he said to his daughter, "I would like to affiliate with some church consonant with my ideas. For thirty years I have sat under preaching, with which I had no sympathy."

The changes he had witnessed in his eighty-seven years read almost like a tale from the Arabian Nights. The world made history in those eighty-seven years.

Here are a few excerpts copied from his papers:

"I have lived through four financial panics, in '37, '57, '73 and '93. I was thirteen years old when Queen Victoria was crowned in 1837. Six weeks elapsed before the news reached New York by means of sailing vessels, and still later was the news received in Michigan. At her death in 1901, the news was known from Maine to California or Hong Kong in less than an hour. Science has revolutionized, not only the methods in the mechanical world, but has invaded the realm of thought as well.

"In my boyhood, we all thought we knew the age of the world and of its people. We were taught it was about six thousand

years old, and six days were required to create our planet and prepare it for human habitation. I was always taught that I was a body and had a soul about me somewhere. The idea that the universe was governed by uniform laws, I never heard suggested. None of God's laws were thought to be so sacred that they might not be suspended to secure results not otherwise provided for! The thought seems strange now, in the light of modern research, but good and intelligent men believed it then, and anybody who rejected any of these dogmas was deemed heterodox.

"When Spencer's and Darwin's theory of evolution was thrust upon an unwilling public it took the thinking world some years to rearrange its ideas and determine where it stood. Persons whose years reach back to the time when this theory was launched upon the world need not be reminded of the storm it created, nor its fury. Scientists fought it and proclaimed its absurdity, and pulpits throughout the land thundered their anathemas at the men whose theories they charged, were trying to eliminate God from the Universe, by substituting a system of laws. The storm was not of long duration however.

"The horse that in my boyhood days had held the prestige of greatest speed in travel from prehistoric times, was dethroned by the steam cars in the early thirties, when the railroad first appeared; then by the bicycle, and now by the automobile. Electricity, which I remember as only a plaything, is today carrying our news, lighting our homes, propelling our cars, and allowing us to talk with our friends in a distant city.

"I well remember the first political telegram ever sent. It was sent by the National Convention held at Baltimore, which nominated James K. Polk for president in 1844, to Washington—forty miles away. An answer, received two hours later was treated as a hoax. It was not believed possible that a reply from Washington could be received at Baltimore so quickly. It was rejected and a messenger dispatched with relays, who returned next day and confirmed the truthfulness of the telegram of the day before.

"I remember when 'Uncle Sam' charged twenty-five cents for carrying a letter, which we had to take to the post office, probably several miles away. I have known pioneers in an early day to leave a letter for weeks in the post office because the missive was not prepaid and the recipient had not the twenty-five cents to spare. Now, our government brings the letter to our own door for two cents.

"Friction matches came into use in the middle thirties, but they

were only to be used in cases of great necessity, and they had to be drawn between two pieces of sandpaper.

"In the forties, came rubber over shoes and they were made of the pure gum, which was carefully stretched over the shoe.

"Malaria which was prevalent in Michigan, has passed with the destruction of the mosquito and anesthetics have robbed the surgeon's knife of its terrors.

"All of these betterments that I have mentioned, and many more have appeared within my own recollection. There is no indication that the last has arrived. The field of our investigation is infinite and you of the younger generation are destined to witness advances to which the old pioneers were strangers.

"May the blessing of God be upon you all!"

This is a part of a paper read to a group of friends gathered to celebrate my father's eighty-sixth birthday in 1910. This birthday party was an annual custom. The friends gathered for one birthday more—his eighty-seventh.

I believe our beautiful state of Michigan is richer and better for father's life and work and his readiness with the pen has given this and future generations an idea of what it costs to build a state out of a primeval forest.

His large library of carefully selected books, with passages marked and insertions made, will be a constant reminder to his friends, who were ever invited to use them freely, and to his children and grandchildren, that "Grandpa" Osband still lives and loves.

# TIMOTHY EASTMAN, M. D.[1]

BY MARY EASTMAN BRIDGES.

TIMOTHY EASTMAN, youngest child of Timothy and Abigail Gale Eastman, was born January 17, 1798, at East Kingston, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and studied medicine with Professor Ingals of Boston, receiving his diploma in 1822 at the age of 24. Soon after this he became the assistant of a leading physician in Portland, Maine. In 1825 he married Mary Jane Barker, one of the thirteen children of Thomas and Sarah Ayers Barker, of Portland, Maine.

In the spring of 1835 conditions favored the fulfillment of Dr. Eastman's boyhood dreams and he started for the West, going as far as Buffalo, N. Y., by the Erie Canal and there taking passage in a sailing vessel for Detroit. He traveled through Michigan by stage, horseback and by birch-bark canoe. Soon after his arrival at Grand Haven, Ottawa County, Dr. Eastman made a trip of inspection through the surrounding country, which resulted in the purchase of land about twenty miles east of Grand Haven, on the north bank of Grand River. He also built a house for his family in Grand Haven.

In August, 1835, Mrs. Eastman and their five young children joined him. The house in Grand Haven was burned in December, 1841, and early in the spring of 1842 the family moved to the farm up the river. Some rough improvements had been made there, and the place was called Scranton.

Four years later, in 1845, during the administration of James K. Polk.[2] Dr. Eastman organized the town of Polkton, and named it in honor of the President. Later a village was planted on the bank of the river, and was named Eastmanville. As the county became settled Dr. Eastman's professional services were in demand far and near, necessitating for him long journeys through the forests on horseback and afoot.

[1]This article is an abstract of a longer article in regard to the life of Dr. Timothy Eastman written by his daughter, Mary Eastman Bridges, born in Polktown, Ottawa county, Michigan, in 1844, and now a resident of San Francisco, California. The original paper was read before the Historical Society at Lansing in June, 1912.

[2]President of the U. S. from 1845-1849.

FAMILY OF DR. TIMOTHY EASTMAN.

He was deeply interested in developing the agricultural resources of Michigan and was chiefly instrumental in organizing the Ottawa County Agricultural Society in 1856. His opening address before this Society was the first to be delivered in that part of the country in such a cause.

The local political organization was a matter of much concern to Dr. Eastman. He was the first County Clerk of Ottawa County,[3] and upon the organization of the county court he was elected Judge, continuing to hold this office as long as it existed. He was familiarly known as "Judge Eastman." Michigan became a state in 1837. In 1850 a new Constitution was framed, and the laws were revised. Dr. Eastman was an honored and efficient member of the Constitutional Convention which served the State at that time. Later he purchased the Grand River Times, finding in its editorial pages opportunity for expressing valuable ideas for the public welfare. In politics Dr. Eastman was "strongly rooted and grounded" in the Democratic faith.

For many years Dr. Eastman was the only physician in the surrounding country, but in the course of time when younger men came about, he gradually withdrew from practice and was found in the sick room only in consultation. The following tribute was paid him by one of his patients:

"He was a man of fine physical bearing and temperament, capable of enduring a great amount of physical labor, of a large powerful frame and of commanding presence and dignity, indeed, personally he had few compeers. Added to his natural dignity was the culture of the scholar and the grace and polish of the gentleman. What wonder that his presence in the sickroom, be it hut, shanty or the more comfortable apartments of village or city residence, assured the patient of confidence and hope."

As the country was cleared and it became easier to take up varied interests, Dr. Eastman devoted his time to the improvement and cultivation of his farm, making a beautiful spot of his terraced garden on the river bank, with its fruit trees, berry bushes and strawberry bed. His children were systematically tutored by both father and mother, until a good school could be opened. In 1833 a family portrait of Dr. and Mrs. Eastman and four children was done in oil during their residence in Maine; in 1853 an ambrotype of the entire family, father, mother and nine children, was made. These pictures are still preserved in the family.

[3]Ottawa county was organized and the circuit court established in 1837.

In 1858 Dr. Eastman prepared a genealogical account of the Eastman family in America. It was a source of regret to him that he could not make this more complete, but others have carried on the work.

Dr. Eastman died February 21, 1868.

# WILLIAM PUTNAM.[1]

WILLIAM PUTNAM was born June 21, 1823, in Sharon, Schoharie County, New York. In 1826 the family moved to Batavia, Genesee County, New York, where his boyhood was spent. In 1839, when he was sixteen years of age his mother died and the family was broken up and scattered. Having no home, he accepted the opportunity to learn the gunsmith trade and served as an apprentice until twenty-one years of age. He worked at that business long enough to earn money for schooling.

In March, 1841, he united by baptism with the Baptist church in Batavia, and became a teacher in the Sunday school before he was 18 years old. In 1845 he was licensed by the church to preach and in October of that year commenced his work in the ministry with the Baptist church in East Pembroke, six miles from his childhood home. There he was publicly ordained to the work of the Christian ministry in 1848. He subsequently served as pastor successfully at Shelby, Kendall, Waverly and Lyons, in New York.

While he was at Lyons the Civil War broke out and in August, 1862, he enlisted as volunteer in the 160th Regiment, New York Infantry, where he served two and one-half years as private and chaplain. After the war he moved, in 1867, to Michigan, and preached successively at Mason, Plymouth, Howell, Unadilla and Gaylord. At each of these places he organized the church and was the first pastor.

While in northern Michigan he served three years as member and secretary of the county board of school examiners; five years as township health officer; two years as register of deeds; eight years as notary public and six years as postmaster, besides holding some other minor offices.

In 1892 he made his home in Lansing and, in that year was elected chaplain of Charles T. Foster Post, G. A. R., which position he continuously filled until 1913, a period of twenty-two years. He was elected chaplain of the Department of Michigan G. A. R. in 1902 and held this office continuously until 1913. He was also

[1]Read at the annual meeting in June, 1913.

chaplain of the Michigan Commandery of the Loyal Legion from 1907 until 1913, a period of six years.

At the time of his death he was over 89 years of age; indeed he lacked but 49 days of his ninetieth birthday.

# CHARLES EMMETT BARNES.

CHARLES EMMETT BARNES was born at South Byron, Genesee County, New York, on the nineteenth day of June, in the year eighteen hundred and forty-eight. He was married to Irma Ellen Gore at West Leroy, Calhoun County, Michigan, on the sixth day of November, in the year eighteen hundred and seventy-nine. He departed from this life at his home in Battle Creek, Michigan, on the seventeenth day of October, in the year nineteen hundred and eleven. Charles Emmett Barnes was the fifth son of Hamilton Douglas and Elanor Wilsey Barnes. When eight years of age he came with his parents to Battle Creek, Michigan.

When seventeen years of age he entered the office of the *Weekly Journal* for the purpose of learning the printing trade. He was connected with this paper for six years, when he spent a year in the West, and returned to his former position, that of foreman in the news room. Soon after this the *Daily Journal* was started. He became its city editor, and increased his newspaper work by corresponding for Detroit and Chicago papers.

In 1877 he started the *Daily News* but, discontinuing it that same year, in company with George W. Buckley he bought the *Michigan Tribune* from the owners, Woolnough and Bordine. Three years later he disposed of his interest to his partner and purchased the *Reed City Clarion.* After four years of successful newspaper work in northern Michigan, he returned to Battle Creek.

With Eugene Glass as a partner, he established the *Sunday Morning Call.* In 1886 this paper was sold to a stock company made up of members of the Knights of Labor. A daily, weekly and Sunday edition was published with Mr. Barnes as president and editor.

In 1887 he was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Labor for the State of Michigan and, resigning his newspaper position, he went to Lansing where he lived for four years.

Returning to this city, he began the publication of the *Michigan Patriot,* selling it in one year's time.

Then for nine years he was connected with the *Daily Moon* and for one year with the *Journal.*

In the last five years of his life his writings consisted of feature stories for local and metropolitan papers and magazine articles

along Nature lines. *Birds and Nature, The Outing, Sports Afield, The Outer's Book, Field and Stream, St. Nicholas, Scientific News, The Scientific American, Technical World, The Michigan Farmer, Michigan Tradesman* and *Good Health* were among those that contained an occasional article from his pen.

He was a student of social questions, and at one time served two years as State Master Workman of the Knights of Labor.

Fraternities and clubs always appealed to him and during his life he was at various times actively identified with the Odd Fellows, Patriarchs' Encampment, Daughters of Rebekah, Improved Order of Red Men and the National Union. He was a Past Noble Grand of the Odd Fellows, and was initiated into the order Feb. 2, 1870. In the early days he was a member of the old volunteer fire department of Battle Creek and for many years was one of its most valiant workers.

He was also a charter member of the Waupakisco club, the Conversational club and the Nature club of the city and had held offices at times in them all.

In early life his attention was turned to the study of antiquities, especially the Mound Builders, the Indians, geology, mineralogy and numismatology. He possessed a large collection of specimens along these lines.

In later life his greatest happiness was found in Nature study. The great desire of his heart was to awaken in others an appreciation of the beauties of the outdoor world and with this end in view he worked for the organization and maintenance of the Nature club.

It became his keen delight, in company with genial friends from this club, to take long walks across open fields, along winding streams, beneath leafy bowers and through wooded tracts.

A dinner cooked over an open fire or a luncheon spread by a natural stream of cold water was to him more inviting than the most delicious viands or nectar ever served at a conventional feast.

While not a believer in dogmatic creeds, he thoroughly believed in a Divine plan running through all things.

His favorite quotation was Shakespeare's words: "Tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything."

The delineation of a character which he put into a story that he wrote some years ago, faithfully described his own innate qualities of mind:

"He saw beauty in the flowers, the trees, the birds; symmetry in the snow-flake and the crystal. He read history in the rocks. He saw lace-work superior to human skill in the dragon-fly's wing, as well as Nature's carving in the walnut burl and the agate. He recognized art in the setting sun; social and industrial co-operation in the life of ants; engineering in the beaver's dam and mechanics in the construction of the bird's nest. Dewdrops were gems to him, while the humming of insects and the zephyrs playing among the trees was music to his ears."

## HENRY H. STAFFORD.

HENRY H. STAFFORD, first mayor of Marquette, Michigan, died April 26, 1911, at the home of his son, Walter K. Stafford, 32 Richardson Street, in Newton, Massachusetts, where he had been living since 1900.

Mr. Stafford was born in Boston in 1833 and spent his early life about Boston and Provincetown. He became engaged in the druggist business in 1850, connecting himself with the firm of Joseph Kidder. He remained with this firm until his marriage in 1856 to Mr. Kidder's daughter, Catherine L., a member of one of the leading families of Boston. The couple removed to Marquette, Michigan.

In that city he established the first drug store. He was elected the first mayor of the city and served in the Michigan legislature from that district during the '70s. He became active in politics during the administration of Lincoln, under whom he served as register of the U. S. land office. Under subsequent administrations he became receiver for the same office. He was also interested in mining projects.

He was a member of the lodge of Masons and Lake Superior commandery, K. T., of Marquette.

He is survived by five sons, Edward O., of Marquette; Walter K., of Newton; Charles M., of Minneapolis; Henry L., of Duluth; and Morgan H., of Newton. The interment was in Marquette.

# JEAN BAPTISTE PARRISIEN.

JEAN BAPTISTE PARRISIEN the pioneer trader and vogageur, of whom a great deal was written in the newspapers during the last years of his life, died at his home in Grand Haven, Mich., September 9th, 1912. He was supposed to be 103 years old and most of his life was spent in Michigan. At the time of his death, the Hon. C. W. Cotton, mayor of Grand Haven, issued the following proclamation:

By the death of Jean Baptiste Parrisien, the city of Grand Haven has lost one of its most valued citizens. Not only was he the oldest living inhabitant of our city, but he alone was the connecting link between the Present and the Past—our present civilization and the day of the pioneer.

For generations he has been pointed out to us and to our children as an example of honesty and integrity, and now that he has gone it is proper and fitting that the citizens of the city should show that respect due one whose life has been of such great benefit.

Therefore I would recommend that all the flags in the city be at half mast during the funeral and as many as possible accompany the remains to the last resting place.

C. W. COTTON, Mayor.

A short time before the death of this old pioneer the Grand Rapids *Evening Press,* in its issue of September 3, published the following account of his life as told by himself, in an interview with the Grand Haven correspondent of that paper:

Of all the residents of western Michigan it is doubtful if there is one who can recall more of its history than Jean Baptiste Parrisien now a resident of Grand Haven, and the reason Parrisien can recall so much more of the history than others is because he has lived in western Michigan longer than any of them, his present age being 103 years.

Besides the honors accruing to him from a historical standpoint Jean Baptiste Parrisien has the honor of having built himself a monument which will survive the markers in the cemetery, for Jean Baptiste Parrisien's monument, strange as it may seem, is the Grandville road which leads from that village to the city of Grand Rapids.

Parrisien formerly was a resident of Grand Rapids, which city he called his home for twenty-five years. During that time, and

previously, he was an employe of Louis Campau, the fur trader who played such a prominent part in the early history of the Furniture city. He knew Richard Godfroy and nearly all of the other men who were responsible for the stability of the early village of Grand Rapids.

### ARRIVED AT GRAND HAVEN IN 1835.

Parrisien, who is a Chippewa Indian, came to Grand Haven in 1835 with Louis Campau and Richard Godfroy from Mackinaw, where the first treaty with the Indians had been held. They came in boats with money for the Indians, this money being from the United States government.

When the party arrived in Grand Haven, Parrisien decided to remain for the time being. The year following he carried the first mail ever carried between Grand Haven and Grand Rapids, blazing the trail, which led through Rosy Mound, then straight to Grandville, thence to Grand Rapids. This trail afterwards became the Grandville road.

For five years Jean Baptiste Parrisien carried the mail twice a week to Grand Rapids. In those days he was a perfect type of Indian of the Chippewa tribe. He was more than six feet tall and was as straight as an arrow. Those who saw him as he went about through the woods, clad in his blanket and moccasins and with his hatchet in his belt, thought of the mighty warriors of old who first possessed the land.

Jean's position was always one of trust. Always to be depended upon, he was sent on foot on many important commissions. At one time he was sent by a Mr. Albee, of Grand Haven to carry $6,000 to a man in St. Joseph.

"How will you carry so much money, Jean?" said Mr. Albee.

"I will roll it up in my blanket and strap it on my back."

"What have you to protect yourself against the foe if you meet any?"

"I have my jackknife and my two fists."

"I am afraid that would not be forceful enough. You would better take this pistol."

"All right, Mr. Albee," said Jean. "I will to please you; but I never carried a pistol in my life."

### CLEVER PLAN SAVES CASH.

The last night before arriving in St. Joseph Jean stopped at a small hotel. The office or barroom was filled with a rough lot of

JEAN BAPTISTE PARRISIENNE.

men. Jean went in and carelessly threw his blanket containing the money into a corner of the room to avert suspicion. Then he asked at the desk for some supper and a room for the night. He sat around until about 9 o'clock, then was shown to his room. Jean, in relating the affair, said:

"I left my old blanket in the corner of the room. That, you see, was part of my game; but I could not sleep. The noise kept up all night. I was worried about the money. So finally I arose and went down to the office. I saw my bag was there still. I strapped it upon my back and started on my journey. At the end of four days I was at home again, after having safely deposited the money with the man in St. Joseph."

Jean Baptiste later went to live in Grand Rapids with Louis Campau and for twenty-five years he was with Campau buying furs and helping in the store. He was much thought of by Mr. Campau's whole family and lived with them most of the time while in the city.

### GETS A NEW SHIRT.

Upon one of Jean's return trips from buying furs from the Indians Mrs. Campau said, "Why, Jean, you have spoiled your white shirt. When you come up this evening from the store bring some blue calico and I will make you a shirt suitable for tramping through the woods with the Indians."

Thomas Gilbert was later engaged by the state government to make a road from the trail which Jean blazed through Grandville. Seeing Jean on the street soon after its completion Mr. Gilbert said, "Well, Jean, the road is finished."

"That's good, Tom; I'm glad that you are through with it!"

"I did not make the road, Jean."

"No, I suppose not; you just bossed the job."

"No, I did not make the road, Jean."

"Who did then, Tom?"

"You did Jean."

Mr. and Mrs. Thomas D. Gilbert proved life-long friends of Jean Baptiste Parrisien, never failing to call upon him whenever they came to Grand Haven. About a week before Mrs. Gilbert's death she, while in Grand Haven with a party of friends, called upon Jean at his home. She asked the members of the party to kneel with her and repeat the Lord's prayer, which they did.

Old Jean, with the tears streaming down his furrowed face, said, "Mrs. Gilbert was one of the best friends I ever had."

Jean lived in Michigan long before it became a state. Nearly all his life has been spent in it. He voted for Gov. Mason, its first governor after it became a state. He is looking forward this fall to again cast his vote with the Republican party.

It is very thrilling to hear Jean describe the first pay day in Mackinaw. When the great boats came steaming up the harbor carrying to the fort barrels of money with which to pay the Indians it was a very picturesque scene, the Indians standing around in their Indian garb. Jean was among that number, but he did not receive any money; he was too young they told him.

"I may live to be old enough to need some of this money," said Jean.

Jean married in Mackinaw. Several children were born. Jean at present lives in a little house by himself, but near that of his daughter, his wife having been dead several years. He is honored and respected in the city by all who know him; a lone survivor of the early history of Grand Haven.

### PICTURE IN CORNERSTONE.

Jean took an active part when Senator William Alden Smith dedicated the new postoffice. His picture was placed in the cornerstone with a lot of historical data.

It has been many years since old Jean Baptiste Parrisien, voyageur and trader, trudged through forests, plodded across the lands of the beautiful Grand River valley and struggled through the marshes carrying the first mail between the young settlements of Grand Haven and Grand Rapids, but the memory of those days still lingers fresh in his mind and nothing pleases him more than to discuss them.

His hearing and sight are not as sharp as in the old days, but he is still a well preserved man. As he walks about the town in his quiet, dignified manner, straight as an arrow and just slightly leaning on his cane, one can hardly believe him to be one hundred and three years old.

# REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS OF OAKLAND COUNTY.

By

LILLIAN DRAKE AVERY.

# REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS OF OAKLAND COUNTY.[1]

BY LILLIAN DRAKE AVERY.[2]

THERE is, perhaps, no section of this state where so great a number of the soldiers of the Revolution have settled, as in Oakland County. Certainly in no other county of Michigan have so many of their names and burial places been noted.

The General Richardson chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, has succeeded in reviving the memory of these men and has placed markers on the graves of twenty-two. This chapter will continue the work until all whose last resting places can be found shall be suitably marked. Where there were no headstones, government markers have been obtained and placed.

## JAMES GRAHAM.

The first permanent white settler to plant his home in Oakland County, was a Revolutionary soldier, whose father, a Scotch-Irish gentleman, came to Pennsylvania several years previous to the Revolution. His Dutch neighbors called him "Grimes," and his enlistment is recorded under that name.

James, born in 1749, was one of a large family, and there is a tradition that when he emigrated to America he sold himself, as was customary, into service to a physician of New York City, to pay the necessary passage-money hither. After the term of his services expired the war was on and he enlisted, April 15, 1777, for one year in Captain Hewitt's company, Colonel Dennison's regiment, of Connecticut troops, and he served in that company until

[1]Read at the annual meeting June, 1911.

[2]Mrs. Lillian Drake Avery was born November 22, 1856, at Farmington. She was graduated at the high school at Chelsea. For three years Miss Drake taught school at Farmington, until she married (October 22, 1879) Dr. A. B. Avery, a schoolmate at the Chelsea high school, and a graduate of the University of Michigan, medical department. In 1885, Dr. and Mrs. Avery moved to Pontiac, where Dr. Avery died in 1911, and where Mrs. Avery still resides. In 1892, Mrs. Avery became the first president of the History Class. This organization is now known as the Woman's Literary Club. She was early associated with the work of the Chautauqua Circle and from 1887 to 1895, she was a member of the Ladies' Library Board. When the General Richardson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, was formed, she was one of the charter members and served as vice-regent two years and as regent for the years 1902-1903. She has been Registrar of the chapter since 1905.

The compilation of genealogical records of the Ingersoll family has occupied much of Mrs. Avery's time for the last fifteen years. Another work in which she is also much interested is the compilation of the records of the old families of Oakland county.

Captain Hewitt's death in the battle of Wyoming. He was then attached to Captain Spalding's company, in Colonel Butler's regiment. He was discharged at the expiration of his enlistment.

His home in Pennsylvania, after the Revolution until 1810, was at Tioga Point, on the Chemung River. Then he moved to Canada, on the site of the present city of Ingersoll. Mr. Graham must have been in the enemy's country all during the war of 1812, but as soon as peace was declared in 1816, he crossed the border and took up his residence at Mt. Clemens.

His two sons, Benjamin and Alexander, started out during the summer to look up a suitable location for a home. Following the Clinton River for a mile or two beyond the present site of Rochester, they concluded that they had found what they were seeking. They cut hay in the open meadows along the stream, built a little hut and returned for the family. The 17th of March following, the father, his sons and a son-in-law, Christopher Hartsough, and John Hersey, arrived. They paid their homage to good St. Patrick by rolling up the first log house in Rochester for Alexander Graham.

James Graham stayed for a stort time with his son, and then took up a squatter's claim on Section 21. He lived here only a year or so, when he removed to the farm now occupied by William Graham, who inherited it from his father, Benjamin Graham.

James Graham married Mary Van der Mark, a native of Holland, and they had a family of nine children: James, David, John, Alexander, William, Benjamin,[3] Chester, Martha and Mary.

The Oakland County History (1877) tells us that Alexander Graham married a Miss Hawkins, and lived on the east side of what was afterwards called Main Street, in the house mentioned. Here his eldest son, James, named in honor of his grandfather, was born early in the year 1818. This was the first white child born in the county. The proprietors of the village subsequently gave the lot on which the pioneer baby was born to the youngster, who owned it till his death, when it passed to the present owner, who, at the date mentioned, (1876) was John Barger.

James Graham is remembered for his unbounded hospitality and proverbial kindness. He was not only held in high esteem by his white neighbors, but by the Indians as well, who would do anything the Grahams asked of them. Mrs. Graham died September 7, 1835; James Graham died September 5, 1837, aged 89. They

[3]Benjamin, b. Mar. 23, 1808, d. Oct. 13, 1864, m. Nov. 18, 1832, Mary Postal, who was born Mar. 23, 1808, d. Jan. 20, 1845, in Avon; dau. of George Washington and Lydia Fulham Postal, of Avon.

both are buried in the little cemetery belonging to the Graham family.

Alexander Graham was well versed in the Indian tongue, and acted as interpreter. Benjamin also understood the language, and was a trader. He was called by the Indians "Mauchung," which meant chunk-bottle, as all commodities sold to them—sugar, flour, powder and whiskey, alike—he measured in a chunky glass bottle. Many interesting stories of the Graham boys are still told.

### NATHANIEL BALDWIN.

Only a year after the Grahams came to the county, Nathaniel Baldwin settled near by. He taught school in a log schoolhouse which stood where the stone blacksmith-shop now stands. He was born in Goshen, Conn., July 20, 1761. While still a lad he enlisted in the 6th regiment from Connecticut, under Colonel Parsons. This regiment was organized at the first call for troops and recruited from New London, Hartford and Middlesex counties. He remained on duty at New London until July 17, 1775, when the regiment was ordered to the Boston camps, where it remained until discharged, December 10, 1775.

After the war, Mr. Baldwin was married to Susanna Sherman,[4] niece of Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

Mr. Baldwin removed with his family from Connecticut to East Bloomfield, N. Y., where they lived many years before coming to Michigan. The tract of land they occupied lies about two miles south of Rochester, where the Crout farm is now located. His daughter, Susan, taught school in the Postal district in a small log house built for the purpose in 1821. This was one of the earliest schools in the county.

Mrs. Baldwin seems to have been a woman of excellent Christian character and patience. She died January 2, 1839, aged 74. Nathaniel Baldwin lived until August 30, 1840, when he was laid to rest in the cemetery at Rochester. Mrs. Milo Newberry, a granddaughter, is the only member of the family now living in Oakland County.

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[4]Their children were:
I. John, b. July 16, 1784.
II. Martha Minot b. April 20, 1795; d. June 28, 1839; m. Thomas J. Drake.
III. Nathaniel Augustus, b. June 27, 1801; d. Aug. 22, 1845; m. 1st, Margaret ———, m. 2nd, Jane Maxwell, Apr. 2, 1842. She died March 23, 1884.
IV. Susanna Eliza, b. July 12, 1805; d. Jan. 18, 1858, unmarried.
V. Walter Baldwin, b. Feb. 5, 1809.
The Baldwin Genealogy gives two other children, Sherman and Zimri, and the ancestry of Nathaniel is given as Nathaniel (4), Nathaniel (3), Samuel (2), Nathaniel (1) of Milford, Conn.

### GEORGE HORTON.

Another Revolutionary soldier to settle as neighbor to Nathaniel Baldwin and James Graham, was George Horton. He gave his military service in Pennsylvania, enlisting in May, 1780, when 19 years of age, in Captain Shoemaker's company. He was in no pitched battles, but participated in several skirmishes with the Indians. He served until September, 1783.

He emigrated from Northampton County, Pennsylvania, to Canada in 1809, where he settled first at Port Colborne. In 1820 he moved to Yarmouth, Elgin County, Ontario. In March, 1825, he came to Avon township, Oakland County, by way of Detroit, and settled about two miles south of the village of Rochester.

He seems to have lived with his son-in-law, Cornelius Decker, who located on Section 21. His son, Benjamin Horton, took up land on Section 22. There were about twenty people who came from Canada at this time and the heads of all these families were related to George Horton. Mrs. Elsie Horton ,wife of George Horton, was buried in the Rochester cemetery, February, 1827. He died in 1835, the exact date being unknown, but his last pension was paid March 4, 1835.

### STEPHEN MACK.

The blazing of a trail into Oakland County did much for the settlement of Michigan, for it showed that the interior of the Territory was not the morass that government surveyors, and the interested fur traders had reported it to be, but as fine farming land as could be desired. A company of Detroit and Macomb County men, called the Pontiac Company, with Colonel Stephen Mack as their agent, purchased 1280 acres of land in Oakland County, for the purpose of establishing a city on the tract. The company was formed in November, 1818, and the first building erected on the site of Pontiac was a log cabin put up by their workmen who came out to build the dam and saw-mill. It stood on the corner of Saginaw and Water streets, near the site of the old Clinton House.

Colonel Mack was the most prominent business man in Pontiac. He was born in Lyme, Connecticut, in 1764, and emigrated with his father, Solomon Mack, before the Revolutionary War, to Gilsum, N. H. The war found both father and son rendering service with the patriots.

Stephen Mack's name appears on a receipt dated Montague, Mass., March 24, 1781, for bounty paid said Mack by the town of

Montague, for service in the Continental Army for the term of three years; In the descriptive list of men raised in Hampshire County to serve in the Continental Army, as returned by Noah Goodwin, Superintendent,[5] his name is also given.[6]

He married (1788) Temperance Bond, of Gilsum, and they settled in Tunbridge, Vt., where he engaged in mercantile business. He also built a tavern at the "Branch" which became famous in after years as the "White House." It was the first painted building in the place. He took great interest in military matters and eventually rose to the command of one of the militia regiments of the Green Mountain state, whence came his title of Colonel.

About the year 1810 he came to Detroit, where he again embarked as a merchant. He was there when General Hull surrendered to the British. During British occupancy, his affairs were in pretty bad shape. After the war was over he engaged in trade under the firm name of Mack & Conant.[7] After the Company was formed, he made Pontiac his home. He and his partners associated themselves with Judge Solomon Sibley as an inactive partner and, under the name of Mack, Conant & Sibley, obtained from the Pontiac Company the title to the water power. For this they were to pay $1,000 toward county buildings if the county seat were located at Pontiac. Besides the dam and saw-mill, this firm erected a grist mill and a small woolen mill, which were of great convenience to the pioneers.

Colonel Mack's family, which consisted of wife and twelve children, had remained in Vermont on a farm until 1816, when they removed to Norwich, Vt., in order to have better school facilities. A military college was located there, where Almon Mack obtained a knowledge of military tactics, which made him a prominent officer in the militia of Michigan in after years. In 1822 the family came to Detroit, and one of the daughters, Lovina, and an adopted orphan girl, Elvira Jamieson, came to Pontiac and kept house for the Colonel. His son, Almon, also came about this time to take charge of his father's books and to make himself generally useful about the mills. In time Almon came to be the manager of his father's business.

Colonel Mack, as early as 1820, had erected a large building which was used as dwelling and office. It was called the "Com-

[5]Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, X, 109.

[6]Age 16 yrs., stature 5 ft. 4 in., complexion light, occupation, farmer, engaged for town of Montague, engaged Apr. 2, 1781, term 3 years; also, private in Capt. John Trotter's company and in Col. Rufus Putnam's (6th) regiment; muster roll for Apr. 1781, dated West Point. (Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Rev. Vol. 10, page 109.

[7]See Mich. P. & H. Col., Vol. V., p. 58.

pany's" building and stood nearly in front of the mill. This dwelling was occupied by Colonel Mack's family in 1823 on their arrival from Detroit.

Colonel Stephen Mack died November 11, 1826, and was buried on his own land on the east side of the river and south of Pike Street. The body was removed to Oak Hill Cemetery, on the crest of the hill that overlooks the land of which he was the first white owner.

Stephen Mack, Jr., located in Rockton, Ill., where he opened a trading house for Indian goods. He afterward married the daughter of a Winnebago chief. He held various offices, among them that of county judge. His death took place in Rockton about 1850. John M., another son, settled in Hamtramck. He, also, held various local offices.

Colonel Almon Mack married the orphan girl, Elvira Jamieson, in March, 1827. She was a woman of extraordinary mental and physical endowment, and was beloved and respected.

Of the daughters, Lovicy married David Cooper, a wealthy merchant of Detroit. Harriet married Reuben Hatch, who had been a sutler in the army. He died about 1827 while in charge of the lighthouse at Fort Gratiot. His widow afterward married Hon. Gideon O. Whittemore. Dr. George Drake is one of her descendants.

Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, was a cousin of the Macks. Smith visited Oakland County several times previous to his removal to Illinois. Almira Mack joined the Mormons at an early day and followed their fortunes to Utah, where she was living in 1876. Mrs. Mack joined this daughter in 1846 and remained with her until her own death, which occurred some ten years later.

During Col. Stephen Mack's residence in Pontiac, he built a grist mill at Rochester in 1824. After the Colonel's death, his sons Almon and John M., were appointed administrators of his estate, which was involved in the collapse of the Bank of Michigan. Colonel Mack was one of the bondsmen of James McCloskey, the cashier of the institution, who defaulted. Colonel Mack's entire estate, except a small dower to the widow, was absorbed in the settlement, and his heirs were virtually left penniless.

### JOSEPH TODD.

Although it was through the agency of Stephen Mack that Pontiac was located and settled, yet the first actual settlers were Joseph Todd, his son-in-law, Orisson Allen, William Lester and their families. Joseph Todd was born February 11, 1765, at War-

saw, N. Y., and was a resident of that place when he enlisted for service in the Revolution in April, 1781. He served ten months and twenty days as a private in Capt. Peter Bertholt's Company, Col. Henry Wisner's regiment. His father, also Joseph Todd, was a second lieutenant in the same company.

In 1818, at the time he applied for a pension, Joseph Todd was a resident of Palmyra, N. Y. It was in November of the same year that he journeyed to Michigan, taking twenty-eight days to reach Detroit from Buffalo. The boat was driven back to Erie three times by bad winds. From Detroit the Todds moved by wagons to Mt. Clemens and soon after Mr. Todd and his party set out on an exploring tour into what is now Oakland County. It was in December and the snow lay ten or twelve inches deep. Each man carried a supply of provisions, a blanket and an axe. Two of them were armed with rifles.

The first night's encampment was on the site of what is now the village of Romeo. The snow was cleared away and a fire built. Then a hollow basswood tree was felled, which was cut in seven foot lengths and split open. Each man took half a log, placed it by the fire and, with his blanket snugly wrapped around him, lay down inside the hollow and had a good night's sleep. The next day they camped on the ground where Pontiac now is.

They returned to Mt. Clemens, convinced that Pontiac would be their future home, and soon began preparations for moving there. They were three days making the journey with a team. At the time there were four houses on the road, at two of which they passed a night. They reached Pontiac the 19th of January, 1819, and occupied the one log house that the company had built, making a little community of fourteen persons. There were no chambers in the house, no chimney, and no floor, except some split logs where they laid their beds. Here they lived until April, when their own houses were ready for occupancy.

Mr. Todd was not well after coming to Michigan, and by July the whole party were sick, no one able to help the other. Dr. William Thompson was the only physician in the county and he lived eight miles from Pontiac. Fever and ague was, of course, the complaint. Affairs, however, grew brighter after a little, and Mr. Todd lived to see a thriving village at this place, and the advent of a railroad.

He first married Julia Johnson, who died February 10, 1843, aged 74 years. He afterwards married Patty Lee, on September 21,

1843. Joseph Todd died at Bloomfield, August 4, 1848, and is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery.[8]

### ITHAMAR SMITH.[9]

This Oakland County pioneer was born at Longmeadow, Mass., January 13, 1756. He married January 26, 1780, Lucy Nevers of Springfield, and had by her thirteen children, seven of whom he buried in New England. She died September 25, 1843.

In June, 1776, Mr. Smith enlisted for six months, as a private in Capt. Josiah Smith's company, Colonel Whitney's regiment. In April, or May, 1777, he again enlisted as artificer, for two years, in Capt. Richard Paxon's company, Col. David Mason's regiment. Again, in 1779, he was in charge of the quartermaster's shop at Springfield, Mass., under Col. William Smith. At the time of his enlistment he was a resident of Wilbraham, but about the year 1806 he removed to Marcellus, Onondaga County, N. Y. On September 14, 1832, he applied for and received a pension while resident of that place. From there his wife, his children and his grandchildren, numbering twenty persons, with the exception of his youngest son, Dr. George Smith and family, of Syracuse, came to Pontiac in the fall of 1835. Before they started the good old minister preached a sermon from the text, "They seek a country." When they left Marcellus they came to a place called Jordan, on the Erie Canal, where they chartered a boat for Buffalo. Some of the neighbors followed them to the canal to bid them farewell, for Michigan was then considered near the "jumping off place."

Arriving at Buffalo they took a steamboat for Detroit, and from thence over a rough road to Pontiac. They all moved into the house known as the Benjamin Phelps house (now the Presbyterian parsonage) and remained there until they could select a permanent home. Mr. Smith bought the farm of Mr. Griffin, afterwards known as the George Wisner farm, which was managed by his son-in-law, Deacon Frost. He and his family were very regular in their attendance at church, going quite often with oxen for the first year or two. He was quite deaf and used to stand in the pulpit with the minister when he was over eighty years of age, no matter how long the sermon was.

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[8]Joseph Todd's children were:
I. Elizabeth, b. Dec. 11, 1791; d. Nov. 5, 1846, in Bloomfield. m. 1st, ——— Harding, 2nd, Asa B. Hadsell.
II. Catherine, b. Aug. 18, 1796; d. March 18, 1845, in Pontiac. m. Orisson Allen.
III. Julia, m. 1st, ——— Todd; m. 2nd, Joseph Voorheis.
IV. John, m. Polly Smith.
V. Joseph J., b. 1800, m. Chloe Matthews.
VI. Jonathan.
VII. Samuel, b. 1804. m. Dec. 31, 1839 Armena Irons.

[9]Ithamar (6), Eleazer (5), John (4), John (3), Phillip (2), Lieut. Samuel (1) Smith.

In 1843 he sold his farm to George Wisner, taking in part payment a farm in West Bloomfield. About this time his wife died, aged 84 years. They had lived together sixty-three years. On the 1st of September, 1844, while getting ready to go to meeting, he fell, and died a few minutes afterward.

Ithamar Smith was a blacksmith by trade and in 1874 there was still existing an account book he used from 1800 to 1812. While in the Revolutionary service he had the pleasure of seeing and shaking by the hand, his great commander, George Washington. On the 4th of July, 1838, at a celebration given by the citizens of Pontiac, Mr. Smith and Mr. Beach, another Revolutionary soldier living there, occupied the post of honor. Ithamar Smith is buried in Oak Hill Cemetery.[10]

### WILLIAM NATHAN TERRY.

William Nathan Terry made his declaration November 10, 1828, at which time he was sixty-eight years old. He enlisted for the war in March, 1774, and was at the battle of Bunker Hill in June, 1775 as a member of Captain Ransom's Company of Pennsylvania troops in Colonel Butler's regiment. He served till October, 1782. While on a furlough, he fought as a volunteer at the battle of Wyoming and afterward returned to his corps and was engaged in the battle of Princeton. When he came to Michigan in 1824 he left property in Tioga County, New York, out of which he was partially swindled, but he was too poor to prosecute his rights for its recovery.

He settled on the Saginaw Turnpike two miles northwest of Pontiac where he lived to be about eighty years old. He died January 20, 1840, and was buried on the Charles Terry lot in Oak Hill Cemetery. His wife, Eleanor Lewis, died August 25, 1849, aged 73 years.[11]

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[10] The children of Ithamar Smith were:
I. Roderick, b. March 10, 1781.
II. Henry, b. Apr. 19, 1782.
III. Henry, b. Feb. 17, 1784. } d. in infancy.
IV. Sally, b. Mar. 5, 1786.
V. Sarah, b. Jan. 23, 1787; d. Feb. 8, 1876, at Pontiac, Mich.
VI. Fanny, b. Jan. 12, 1789; d. March, 1858, Pontiac, Mich.
VII. John Morgan, b. Dec. 31, 1790; d. Oct. 26, 1864, at Grand Rapids, m. Jan. 8, 1811, Lydia Goodrich, who was b. Jan. 3, 1794 and d. March 25, 1881, in Manistee, Mich.; dau. of Allen Goodrich.
VIII. Eleazer, b. Oct. 21, 1792; d. Nov. 23, 1797.
IX. Hannah Morgan, b. June 17, 1794; d. May 1, 1851, at Pontiac, Mich., m. Josiah Frost.
X. Louis Nevins, b. March 21, 1796; d. May, 1796.
XI. George (Dr.), b. Aug. 19, 1797; d. Aug. 25, 1844, at Syracuse, N. Y.. m, Electa Ellis.
XII. Lucy, b. Apr. 17, 1799; d. July 8, 1837, at Pontiac, Mich., m. Weston Frost.
XIII. Eleazer, b. Nov. 25, 1801; d. May 22, 1802.

[11] The Children of William Nathan Terry were:
I. Charles, d. July 3, 1854, aged 52 years.
II. Sarah Lee, b. Oct. 27, 1806; d. June 13, 1899, m. July 5, 1827, Isaac Voorheis, who was b. March 11, 1806 and d. July 12, 1892. (Continued on next page.)

JOSHUA CHAMBERLIN.

Another Revolutionary soldier's grave to be located and marked in Oak Hill Cemetery, Pontiac, was that of Joshua Chamberlin. He enlisted April 3, 1777, at Richmond, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, serving as a private until April 3, 1780, in Capt. Jeremiah Miller's Company, Colonel Vose's regiment of Massachusetts troops. He applied in 1818 for a pension, which was granted. He was then a resident of Lewiston, Niagara County, N. Y. In 1820 he was a resident of Detroit and two years later he undoubtedly came to Pontiac with his sons, Joshua, Jr., and Dr. Olmstead Chamberlin. Dr. Chamberlin was one of the prominent business men of Pontiac for many years. His father died February 20, 1827, aged 67 years. Sarah, his wife, died at Gorham, N. Y., August 14, 1814, at the age of 49.

ENOCH HOTCHKISS.

It is claimed that Enoch Hotchkiss, who is buried in the orchard on the farm he originally settled in 1819, was a soldier of the Revolution.

ELIJAH DRAKE.

The early life of Elijah Drake was spent in the neighborhood of the Delaware Water Gap, that now famous summer resort where the combination of mountain and river forms scenery unexcelled in beauty. There he was born July 4, 1759.

In the sparsely settled country embraced by Smithfield township, the settlers were protected from raids of hostile Indians by the garrison at Fort Penn, located on a large tract of land owned by Colonel Stroud and commanded also by him. Lying adjacent to this great property of Colonel Stroud was the land of Samuel Drake, father of Elijah.

A company belonging to the Associated Battalion, formed in Pennsylvania, was organized in Smithfield May 22, 1775, of which Jacob Stroud was Captain and Samuel Drake, Lieutenant. In 1776 Jacob Stroud was Colonel and Samuel Drake, Captain.[12]

[12]Second Series, Penn. Archives, XIV, 555, 576.

[11]III. Ellen, m. Sept. 14, 1833, Matthew Stanley.
IV. William, m. Hannah Lusk.
V. Jacob.
VI. Joshua, m. Lucy Tining.
VII. John, m. Helen Ann ———
VIII. Merritt, m. Emily Lewis.
IX. Caleb, b. Oct. 11, 1816, Palmyra, Wayne Co., N. Y., d. Apr. 26, 1890, at Lansing, Mich., m. 1840, Loraine Cole, b. Feb. 1, 1821, d. Sept. 13, 1908, at Port Huron, dau. of John and Elizabeth (Skinner) Cole.
X. Polly, m. Elijah Kirkham.
XI. Barney.

The records of the Bureau of Pensions for June, 1878, state the following: Elijah Drake enlisted as a private and served six months under Capt. Benjamin Schoonhover, Colonel Stroud's Regiment, Pennsylvania; he re-enlisted June 5, 1779, for three months under the same Captain in Colonel Armstrong's regiment, Pennsylvania. He later served fifteen days under Capt. Samuel Shoemaker, his place of residence being given as Lower Smithville, Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

The state records also show the service of his brother Thomas. The official record is meager enough, for in reality Elijah Drake gave four years of his life to the service of his country. The position of the family on the frontier necessarily demanded protection by the father and sons in the early days of the war, and he thus served three years before his official enlistment in 1778.

Like others of the valiant volunteers who first viewed the fertile valley of the Susquehanna in time of strife, he was resolved to make this locality his home some time in the future. After serving as executor of his father's estate in 1789, he joined his sister Ruth, who had married Capt. Daniel McDowel, and settled at Chemung, fourteen miles below Newtown Point or Elmira as the place is now called.

There was living in the beautiful valley of Wyoming at the time of the terrible massacre, the family of Thomas and Abigail (Culver) Stoddard, settlers from Connecticut. They were warned by a friendly Indian, of the approaching danger, in time to escape with their children. Their daughter, Abigail, was at that time eight or nine years old, and many times in the course of her long life of ninety years she recited the thrilling experiences which were so indelibly stamped upon her memory. The youngest child, two years of age, died of exposure and hardships encountered in their long march in the wilderness. Just where their refuge was we do not know, but presumably to the north.

Elijah Drake married Abigail Stoddard in the year 1790 at Newtown Point. Their home was in Chemung, as we find Elijah Drake elected overseer of highways at the fourth town meeting held there in 1791. That he was still a resident the following year is shown by a release given by him to his brother Joseph for his interest in a piece of land adjoining their home farm.

His second daughter, Wealthy, is said to have been born in Scipio, N. Y. If so, the change of residence must have taken place early in 1793. His father-in-law, Thomas Stoddard, went with him, and they settled on a farm in the town of Scipio one and

three-fourths miles east of the village of Aurora on Cayuga Lake. Here his eight sons were born, and here he lived until 1821, when he sold out and bought a farm two miles east of the village of Perry, Wyoming County, N. Y., where he resided ten years.

Thomas J., the second son, made his way to Pontiac, in 1824, and became one of the most prominent men of the early history of Oakland County. His success and liking for the new country influenced the rest of the family to leave New York for the land of promise.

In 1835 Elijah Drake, with six of his sons and their families, embarked from Buffalo on the old time steamer, *Thomas Jefferson.* One son, Cyrus, with his family, settled in Huron County, Ohio, but the other five became pioneers of Michigan.

After tarrying a while in Oakland County, the old gentleman and his wife went to live with their sons who had settled near Ann Arbor. They lived there a few years, then removed with another son, Dr. Flemon Drake, in 1844, to Royal Oak, where they made their home the remaining years of their lives.

Elijah Drake died April 8, 1848. His wife lived to be over ninety years old, and died February 20, 1860.[13]

## EZRA PARKER.

One of the two Revolutionary soldiers buried in the Township Cemetery of Royal Oak, is Ezra Parker.

Ezra Parker was born in Wallingford, Connecticut, December 13, 1745, and died in Royal Oak, July 7, 1842, in the ninety-seventh year of his life.

With the family of his father, Andrew Parker, Ezra, with his wife, Sarah (Tuttle) Parker, removed from Wallingford, Connecti-

[13]The children of Elijah Drake were:

I. Sally, b. Jan. 11, 1791, at Chemung, N. Y.; d. February 18, 1875, at Humberstone, Ontario; m. Apr. 4, 1810, at Scipio, N. Y., Guy Jerome Atkins.

II. Wealthy, b. Mar. 4, 1793, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Apr. 30, 1856, at Buffalo, N. Y.; m. Mar. 4, 1820, at Perry, N. Y., Samuel Rudolph Atkins.

III. Samuel, b. Aug. 27, 1795, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Sept. 1827, at New Orleans, La.; m. Nov. 28, 1816, at Buffalo, Eliza Chapman, oldest daughter of Col. Asa Chapman. Her mother was Electa Doney, daughter of John and Mary (Keyes) Doney. Mrs. Eliza Drake died Jan. 5, 1859, at Farmington, Mich.

IV. Thomas Jefferson, b. Apr. 18, 1797, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Apr. 20, 1875, at Pontiac, Mich.; m. Dec. 17, 1826, Martha Minot Baldwin, Daughter of Nathaniel Baldwin of Rochester; m. 2nd, Apr. 19, 1843, Evelina H. Talbot.

V. Cyrus, b. Dec. 24, 1800, Scipio, N. Y.; d. Apr. 15, 1855; m. Nov. 14, 1824, Sylvia Huestis.

VI. Elias, b. Sept. 25, 1803, Scipio, N. Y.; d. Nov. 18, 1878, at Madison, Lenawee Co., Mich.; m. Sept. 19, 1837, at Lima, Washtenaw Co., Mich., Jane Hudson.

VII. Elijah, b. Dec. 24, 1805, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Apr. 14, 1875, at Flint, Mich.; m. June 1, 1839, at Rush, Livingston Co., N. Y., Sally Webster.

VIII. Flemon, b. Apr. 30, 1807, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Nov. 2, 1865, at Royal Oak, Mich.; m. Apr. 10, 1834, Electa Depue; m. 2nd, Mary E. Pierson.

IX. Edward L., b. Apr. 30, 1810, at Scipio, N. Y.; d. Feb. 4, 1896, at McBain, Mich.; m. 1st, 1834, Ambrosia Lacy; m. 2nd, Mrs. Cynthia B. Capen.

X. Morgan L., b. Oct. 18, 1813, Scipio, N. Y.; d. Apr. 21, 1865, at Pontiac, Mich.; m. Sept. 19, 1837, Sarah Sophronia Stannard.

cut, to Adams, Massachusetts, about 1770. About 1772 Ezra Parker married as his second wife, Elizabeth Perry, of North Adams, Massachusetts and they had ten children.[14]

After the Battle of Lexington, April, 1775, Mr. Parker joined the Berkshire Company and was present at the Battle of Bunker Hill. In September of that year he was a sergeant among the picked 1200 men who constituted Arnold's Expedition through the wilds of Maine to Quebec. He participated in the entire campaign, returning with the remnants of that expedition. Later a commission was tendered him in the Revolutionary Army by the State of Massachusetts but was declined. He, still as sergeant, was engaged among the troops from Western Massachusetts, at the Battles of Bennington and Saratoga.

In 1793, the family moved to Herkimer County, N. Y., and in 1795 to Bridgewater, Oneida County, N. Y. Mr. Parker, however, was the owner of extensive tracts of land at various points in the State of New York, some of which was in St. Lawrence County, near Watertown, and upon these tracts he settled his various children. Later, he and Mrs. Parker made their home with their son William M., in Sangersfield County, New York, from about 1813 to 1835. They removed with his son William to Royal Oak, Oakland County, in June, 1835. There he lived until his death in 1842. His descendants are quite numerous and are scattered all over the United States. The family is connected through various branches with many of the prominent families of that name in the east.[15]

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[14]Samuel, David, Ezra, William M., Joel, Cratus, Elizabeth, Ira, Abigail, and another son, name unknown, who died young.

[15]The only one of his immediate descendants living in this section, was William M. Parker, who married Lydia Gilbert Bull in Bridgewater, Oneida county, New York, in 1802. They had eleven children, seven of whom removed with the family to Michigan in 1835. William M. Parker owned numerous tracts of land in the State of Michigan, in Oakland and Genesee counties especially, but settled upon the southwest quarter of the southeast quarter of section 6, township of Royal Oak, and on the old road previously described. They purchased the land of Alexander Campbell. Of his children, Asher B. Parker first settled upon the west half of the northeast quarter of section 8, and the east half of the northeast quarter of section 7, township of Royal Oak. For four years, 1840 to 1844, he lived in the township of Genesee, county of Genesee. In 1839, Asher B. Parker married Harriet M. Castle, they having seven children, all of whom are living at the present date. One son, Ralzemond A. Parker, lives upon the old homestead and is a practicing lawyer in Detroit.

William Parker was with Hooker's Congregation that settled Hartford, Conn., removing thereto from Cambridge, Mass., in 1639. He had three sons, the youngest John who settled in New Haven, Conn., and also had among other children a son John (2nd).

John 2nd was born in 1648, married Hannah Bassett in 1670, and was among the early planters at Wallingford, Conn., giving the name of Parker's farm, which it still bears, to a locality there west of the village.

Among numerous children was one Joseph, the fifth child who married Sarah Curtis in 1705, and among eleven children was one Andrew who married Susannah Blakesless.

The children of Andrew Parker were: Ambros, 1738, Grace, 1739 and Patience; Zerulah, 1741, Oliver, 1743, Ezra, Dec. 13, 1745; Susannah, 1747; Rachael, 1749; Sybil, 1753; and Jason, 1764. He moved with the family to Adams, Berkshire county, Mass., where he died. Jason Parker founded stage lines early in the nineteenth century and these lines ran to all parts of the state north, south, east and as far west as Niagara Falls.

JEREMIAH CLARKE.

Jeremiah Clarke was born in Preston, Connecticut, in 1760 or 1761. He lived wtih his father[16] in Shaftsbury, Vt., and in the Revolutionary War served under Capt. Bigelow Lawrence. He entered service March 2, 1778, and was discharged May 2, 1778, having been in service sixty days. His father, Jeremiah Clarke, Sr., was a member of the first convention of delegates from towns in July, 1776.

In his journeying to the westward, after the war, Jeremiah Clarke made his first stop in Bath, N. Y., where he built one of the first houses. He did not tarry there long, however, for we find him one of the early settlers of Nelson, Madison County, New York. He lived north of Erieville and built the first saw mill that was put up in that town, where now is the outlet of the Erieville reservoir. Before 1808 he moved to Onondaga County and finally spent the last years of his life in Clarkston, Oakland County, where his sons had settled. He died there June 1, 1845, aged 84 years.

He married Sarah Millington in 1780. She was born in 1767 and died July 17, 1845, aged 78 years. They had fourteen children, and a goodly proportion of the inhabitants of Clarkston claim descent from them.[17]

BENJAMIN GRACE.

Benjamin Grace made application for a pension on April 30, 1818, at which time he was 58 years of age and resided in Lyons, New York. This pension was allowed for three years of actual service as a private in the New Hampshire troops in the Revolutionary War. He enlisted at Amherst, New Hampshire, in 1780, and served under Captain Livermore and Colonel Scammel until 1783. He came in 1828 to reside with his children at Farmington,

[16]Jeremiah Clarke, Sr., was also Major in 1777; was member of first Council of Safety of Vermont, 1778; Judge of the first court, and member of executive council for years. Vermont Hist. Soc. Pub. I, pp. 11, 15, 21, 23, 25; Vermont State Papers, 257, 266, 277, 553, 555.

[17]The children of Jeremiah Clarke were:

I. Julia, m. Elnathan Cobb; lived in Onondaga Co., N. Y.
II. Amasa, m. ——— Green; went to Illinois over 70 years ago.
III. Lydia, b. 1781; d. Sept. 14, 1845, at Clarkston, Mich.; m. Nicholas Brown.
IV. Henry, left home when 18 or 20 years of age and never heard of afterward.
V. Amos.
VI. Jeremiah, b. Sept. 19, 1790, Shaftsburg, N. H.; d. Aug. 29, 1847, at Dewitt, N. Y.; m. Phebe Holdridge, 1814; b. Aug. 6, 1791; d. Aug. 9, 1838.
VII. Lucy, m. William Johnson; lived in Nelson.
VIII. Amy, b. 1794; d. July 29, 1853, at Clarkston, Mich.; m. Oliver Poole.
IX. Susan, b. Oct. 25, 1797; m. 1821 Jeremiah Blair.
X. Hiram.
XI. Sarah, b. Feb. 15, 1806; d. Mar. 5, 1872, at Clarkston, Mich; m. Jacob Walter.
XII. Nelson, b. June 8, 1808; d. Apr. 17, 1876, at Northville, Mich.
XIII. Sidney.
XIV. Ebenezer, b. Aug. 6, 1812; d. Feb. 7, 1868, at Michigan Center, Jackson Co.,

Oakland County, and died on the William Grace farm, a mile north of Clarenceville on November 15, 1851, aged 91 years. He is buried in the Clarenceville Cemetery. He was blind for nearly the last thirty years of his life. Benjamin Grace is said to have entered service at the age of fifteen years of age at the Battle of Lexington and to have continued in active duty during all of the war, being present at the surrender of Yorktown.[18]

CALEB BARKER MERRELL.

"Captain Caleb Barker Merrell was a commissioned officer in the American army during the struggle for independence, participating in the battles of Bennington, Bemis Heights, Saratoga, Stillwater, and the surrender of Burgoyne, October 17, 1777. He was at one time taken prisoner, conveyed to Canada and was for some time confined by British authority."

This memorial of him is given in Lakins History Military Lodge F. & A. M. No. 93, Manlius, New York (p. 59), of which he was evidently a member. He was born in Great Barrington, Masssachusetts, and died in Springfield, Oakland County, July 2, 1842, at the advanced age of 88 years. His wife was Sally Jackson, to whom he was married June 29, 1788. She was born October 3, 1766, and died July 22, 186—. She was a daughter of Colonel Giles and Anna Thomas Jackson.

Captain Merrell came to Michigan with his son, John J. Merrell, in 1833 and settled in Springfield. He is buried in the cemetery at Clarkston.[19]

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[18]The children of Benjamin Grace are the following: All born in Canaan, Somerset Co., Maine.

I. Benjamin, died in his youth.
II. Mary, (Polly), m. ——— Russell.
III. James, B. Apr. 27, 1789; d. Mar. 20, 1866, at Livonia, Wayne Co., Mich.; m. May 22, 1814, Hannah Patten, b. June 22, 1792, d. Feb. 20, 1879; dau. of James Patten.
IV. Hannah, b. June 13, 1791; d. Feb. 20, 1879, at Livonia, Wayne Co., Mich.; m. Solomon Lambert, b. June 15, 1792; d. Apr. 8, 1882.
V. William, left home and was never heard of afterward.
VI. Abigail, m. Willard Lambert.
VII. Amasa, b. Aug. 1797; d. July 14, 1873, of Farmington, Mich., m. in Maine, Jane Barton, a native of Ireland.
VIII. Sally, b. 1802; d. Oct. 20, 1861, at Farmington, Mich.; m. Stephen Jennings; d. Sept. 5, 1850, aged 49 years.
IX. Amelia, m. John Grace, b. Feb. 13, 1805, in Boston; d. Feb. 7, 1860, at Fulton, Gratiot Co., Mich.; son of Joseph and Susan (Close) Grace. Joseph d. in town of Lyons, N. Y., when his son John was 12 years of age.
X. Harriet, b. March 17, 1807; m. George Barton, m. 2nd ——— Ward.
XI. Darius, b. Oct. 8, 1809; d. Jan. 2, 1892, Conway, Livingston Co., Mich.; m. Dec. 10, 1837, at Livonia, Mich., Ann Eliza Grant; b. Feb. 27, 1822, Great Barrington, Mass., living (1912); dau. of Warran G. Grant and Sophia Wilcox of Livonia.

[19]The children of Caleb Merrell are:

I. John Jackson Merrell, b. March 22, 1797, at Whitestone, N. Y.; d. Apr. 6, 1866; m. July 31, 1822, Maria Paddock, b. Jan. 4, 1804, at Casnovia, N. Y.; died May 7, 1883.
II. Charlotte, b. Jan. 15, 1804; d. Apr. 4, 1873; m. John W. Pratt, b. Apr. 17, 1802; d. Apr. 24, 1847, in Springfield.
III. Charles.
IV. Helen, m. ——— Lovett.
V. Anna, m. David Leonard.

LEVI GREEN.

Levi Green was born in Coventry, Rhode Island, June 6, 1758, and died in West Bloomfield, Oakland County, June 21, 1859. At the time of making application for a pension, September 28, 1832, he was a resident of Livonia, New York. He enlisted July 1, 1776, for eight and a half months, under Captain Baldwin. His second enlistment was July 1, 1777, for one month, under Captain Newell. His third enlistment was August, 1777, under Captain Brown, Colonel Simonds' Regiment, Massachusetts. He was engaged in the Battle of Bennington. His grandson, Mr. Horace A. Green, has in his possession the original pension papers and a powder horn carved with his name, which was carried through the war.

Levi Green's wife was Asenath Robinson. Their son, Zephaniah Ripley Green, with whom the father lived, arrived in West Bloomfield in July, 1832. Levi Green is buried in the North Farmington Cemetery. Many of his descendants are living in Oakland County.[20]

JOEL PHELPS.

Joel Phelps enlisted in June, 1775, and served till January 3, 1776, with rank of sergeant, in Capt. John McKinstry's company, Col. John Patterson's Massachusetts regiment. He re-enlisted February 2, 1776, in the same company and was later taken prisoner in Canada. In 1777, he served first in Captain Hall's company, Col. Henry Sherborne's regiment, Continental Army, and re-enlisted June 16, 1777, Capt. Stephen Hardin's company, Col. Zebulon Butler's Connecticut regiment. He was wounded in this service, for which he was pensioned. He was appointed quartermaster to accompany General Burgoyne's army to Virginia and he served from April or May, 1779, to May, 1780, as Issuing Commissary at Saratoga.

He engaged in the battles of the Cedars, Trenton, Princeton,

[20]The children of Levi Green are:

I. Aurelia, b. Nov. 5, 1785, in Cheshire, Mass.; d. 1866; buried in Palermo, N. Y.; m. Joseph Chapel; m. 2nd, Selim Dayton.
II. Eunice, m. David Cripen.
III. Waterman, killed by falling tree when 18 years old.
IV. Sophia, d. about 1848; m. David Curtis.
V. Fanny, b. Apr. 3, 1794; m. July 7, 1812, Orange Chapin.
VI. Horace, b. ———; d. Jan. 20, 1833, in Springfield, Mich.; m. Sept. 21, 1820, in Livonia, N. Y., Diantha Powell.
VII. Huldah, b. Sept. 24, 1799, in Middleboro, N. Y.; d. Mar. 21, 1897; m. Godfrey Slocum
VIII. Zephaniah R'pley, b. Aug. 6, 1801; d. Feb. 1, 1879; m. Dec. 3, 1826, Zerilla Gould.
IX. Emma, b. Apr. 24, 1904; d. June 19, 1889; m. June 7, 1827, Abner Beardsley.
X. Speedy, b. May 25, 1808; d. Mar. 21, 1890; m. Gerothman McDonald, June 4, 1827.
XI. Laura, b. Aug. 11, 1811; d. 1850 or '51; m. Sheldon Wilcox.

Bound Brook, Wyoming, and many skirmishes. He applied April 20, 1818, for a pension, which was allowed. At that time he resided in Bloomfield, Ontario County, New York, aged 62 years, being born July 16, 1755. In 1821, the soldier's wife, "Anner," was 54 years old. There were twelve children. In 1836 he moved to Michigan, and in September, 1837, he was living in Oakland County. He is buried in the cemetery at Rose Center.[21]

### ELIAS CADY.

Elias Cady, son of Benajar Cady, was born in Providence, R. I., September 7, 1756.

During the first year of the Revolutionary War the boy took his musket and went to Boston, where he enlisted as a soldier and served till the close of the war. He spent the winter at Valley Forge with Washington. He related that one night he accompanied General Washington on a reconnoitering expedition, returning at the break of day with information which enabled the army to make preparation to meet the enemy.

At the end of the war he was married in a church at Providence, R. I., to Olive Baker. Six children were born to them, Seth B., Rhoda, Mary, Sarah, Philinda and Elias.

They moved to Utica, New York, where she died in 1838. He came with his son, Seth B., to Holly, March 31, 1853. He died at the home of this same son at Genesee and was buried in Oak Hill Cemetery, two miles northwest of Holly. He was a pensioner.

### SAMUEL NILES.

Samuel Niles was born in East Corinth, R. I., and was a private under General Green in the war of the Revolution. He was wounded in an action in his native state. He came to Michigan in 1835 and resided with his son Johnson Niles, the first settler in the township of Troy, where he resided until his death, in July, 1838. He is buried in Crookes Cemetery, Troy. His wife Smellage Sisson died in 1835. His second wife was Lucy Roberts.

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[21]The children of Joel Phelps are:

I. Gilbert, b. Dec. 26, 1788.
II. Minerva, b. Dec. 1, 1790.
III. Othanile, b. Feb. 10, 1793.
IV. Martha, b. July 4, 1795.
V. Sarah, b. May 5, 1798.
VI. Joel, b. May 22, 1800.
VII. Daniel, b. Aug. 16, 1802.
VIII. Mariah, b. Aug. 16, 1804.
IX. Aaron, b. Oct. 18, 1806.
X. Lewis, b. March 11, 1809; d. Feb. 10, 1897.
XI. Henry, b. Jan. 18, 1813.
XII. Stephen, b. 1815.

SILAS SPRAGUE.

Silas Sprague, another early settler and soldier, is buried in the Crookes Cemetery at Troy. He was born February 18, 1762, in Connecticut; he came to Michigan in 1824, with his son Silas. He died March 8, 1841, in Troy. His wife, Polly Leonard, was born October 16, 1763, and died October 5, 1813, in New York.[22]

*Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors,* gives his services as follows: "Certificate dated May 31, 1780, signed by Truman Wheeler, muster-master of Berkshire County, stating that in the fore part of July, 1779, he had mustered said Sprague and others to serve in the Continental Army for the term of nine months, to the credit of the town of Great Barrington. There is also a descriptive list of men raised in Berkshire County to serve in the Continental Army for the term of nine months in Captain Goodrich's Company, Colonel Ashley's regiment. It gives the age of Silas Sprague as 17 years, stature 5 feet 9 inches, complexion light; engaged for the town of Great Barrington; also served 12 days at Stillwater, 1781."

ESBON GREGORY.

The Bureau of Pensions at Washington gives the following record: "Esbon Gregory enlisted June 15, 1777, and served till August 17, 1777, as private in Capt. Amariah Babbitt's company, Col. Benjamin Simon's regiment of Massachusetts troops. He reenlisted August 17, 1777, and served till October 17, 1777, under Captain Herrick and Col. Seth Warner. From October 17, 1777, to May or June, 1778, he served as teamster under Capt. Luther Loomis and Colonel Warner. From May or June, 1778 for eight months in Capt. Peter Porter's company, General Stark's Lifeguard. From April, 1779, he was for three months quartermaster, transporting military stores for General Stark; also July 1, 1779, he seved as sergeant under Captain Barnes in Col. Israel Capen's regiment. From June 1, 1780, to December 1, 1781, he served as sergeant under Captains Hickok, Spoor and Gross, and Colonels Brown and Willett. (Also June 1, 1781, through November, 1781.) He engaged in the battle of Bennington in which he was wounded;

[22]The children of Silas Sprague are:

I. Silas, b. Oct. 16, 1785, in Middlebury, Conn.; d. July 2, 1868, in Troy, Mich.; m. Nov. 12, 1807, Sarah Crofood; m. 2nd, 1824, Amanda Bostwick; m. 3rd, 1855, Eunice Fuller.
II. Polly, b. Mar. 9, 1790.
III. Charles, b. Dec. 13, 1791, Chenango Co., N. Y., d. Nov. 30, 1871.
IV. Thomas, b. Apr. 6, 1794, in Chenango Co., N. Y., d. Apr. 1866.
V. Orrin, b. Aug. 20, 1796; d. June 8, 1874, in Troy.
VI. Barnabas, b. Mar. 20, 1799; d. Sept. 30, 1865.
VII. John, b. July 4, 1801; d. Sept. 29, 1866, in Troy.
VIII. Leonard, b. Aug. 29, 1804, in Broome Co., N. Y.; d. July 24, 1880, in Pontiac.

also in the battles of Stone, Arabia and Johnstown. At the time of his enlistment he was a resident of New Ashford or Lanesborrough, Berkshire County, N. Y. At the time of his application for a pension, May 4, 1818, he resided in Manlius, N. Y. In 1833 he lived in Hanover, N. Y. In 1837 he was living in Troy, Oakland County, with his son, Jesse Gregory, where he remained until his death in 184—. He is buried in the Plains Cemetery, one and a quarter miles east of Troy Corners. His wife was Salome Sherwood.[23]

### ZADOCK WELLMAN.

Zadock Wellman and his sons Joel and Aaron settled in Troy as early as 1819. They came from Vermont and were active in the Baptist Church and town affairs until about 1847, when their names disappear.

Zadock Wellman's name is found in the list of Revolutionary soldiers who were pensioners in 1840, when his age is given as 79. He resided with Joel Wellman in Troy. The wife of Joel Wellman was named Martha, and Aaron Wellman's wife was Lucy. The Wellmans are buried in the cemetery east of Troy Corners.

### CALEB CARR.

Caleb Carr, born October 13, 1762, died July 18, 1839, and is buried in Novi Cemetery. He is said to have been a Methodist exhorter.

The land records show that the Carr family bought land in Kensington in the year 1836, at which time Caleb Carr, Jr., was a resident of that place. A few years later the father and sons lived at Novi, where Isaac Carr kept a tavern, which was burned in 1847. He then moved to Redford, and kept tavern there the rest of his life.[24]

### HOOPER BISHOP.

Hooper Bishop, another soldier of the Revolution, buried in Novi Cemetery, was born March 22, 1762, and died April 3, 1861. He

[23]The children of Esbon Gregory are:
I. Solomon, m. Maria Hagerman.
II. Abigail, m. ——— Johnson.
III. Salome, m. Absalom Kief.
IV. Mary Ann, m. Jan. 15, 1829, Sylvester Francis.
V. Jesse, b. Sept. 26, 1796, ———, N. Y.; d. July 22, 1849, in Troy, Mich.; m. Mar. 26, 1826, Laura Downer, b. Dec. 29, 1799; d. July 7, 1874; dau. of Jackson and Tabitha (Hackett) Downer.

[24]Caleb Carr had sons:
I. Caleb, b. Vt.; d. Williamston, Mich.
II. Isaac, b. Sept. 6, 1790, Vt.; d. Dec. 1862, in Redford, Mich.
III. Calvin, b. Vt.; d. in Waterford, Mich.
IV. Sarah, b. June 5, 1800; d. Feb. 9, 1837.

married February 12, 1794, Betsey ————, b. March 22, 1758, who died January 12, 1825. He came to Michigan before 1840, to live with his son Levi, who owned the farm east of Novi which is now owned by Mr. West.

Mrs. Lozie Paddock remembers Hooper Bishop, as she often visited his granddaughter. He had a wooden leg and was blind. He had kept many of the war relics, including his uniform and musket, and the children looked up to him as a great hero, for he told them many stories of the war. His service is given in *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors* as follows: "Hooper Bishop, Private Capt. John Carpenter Co., enl. June 25, 1779, disc. September 25, 1779, service with guards at Springfield enlistment, 3 mo.

"Hooper Bishop Private, Capt. Caleb Keep's Co., Col. Israel Chapens' regt. enl. October, 1779, disc. November 21, 1779, service 1 mo. 11 day, enl. 3 mo. Company raised to reinforce Continental Army."[25]

"Hooper Bishop South Brimfield descriptive list of men raised to reinforce Continental Army for the term of 6 mo. agreeable to resolve of June 5, 1780, æ. 18 years, stature 5 ft. 5 in. complexion dark; res. South Brimfield, arrived in Springfield, July 11, 1780, marched to camp July 11, 1780 under command of Capt. George Webb; also list of men raised for the 6 mos. service and returned by Brig. Gen. Patterson as having passed muster in a return dated Camp Toloway, October 25, 1780; also pay roll fee 6 mo. men raised by the town of S. Brimfield for service in the Continental army during 1780. Marched July 1780 disc. December, 1780 service 5 mo. disc. at West Point"; also

"Hooper Bishop, private Capt. Abel King's Company, Colonel Sear's regt. enl. August 20, 1781, disc. November 26, 1781, service 3 mo. at Saratoga."[26]

### DERRICK HULICK.

Derrick Hulick was born May 5, 1759, in Montgomery Township, Somerset County, N. J., where he was a resident at the time of his enlistment. He served as a private from June 1, 1776, for seven months in Capt. William Baird's company, Colonel Quick and Henry Van Dyke's regiment. He also served under Capt. Rynear Staats and Colonel Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. He re-enlisted in 1777 for eight months in John Baird's company, Colonel Web-

[25] *Mass. Soldiers and Sailors,* Vol. II., p. 78.
[26] The children of Hooper Bishop are:
I. Prudence, b. Sept. 3, 1794.
II. Sally, b. Feb. 26, 1797; d. Feb. 4, 1858.
III. Levi, b. June 8, 1799; d. Oct. 18, 1870, in Novi, Oakland Co., Mich.
IV. William, b. Nov. 21, 1802.

ster's regiment, and again in April, 1778, for two months under Capt. Joakim Gulick and John Blair in Colonel Van Dyke's regiment. He enlisted January or February, 1779 for six months and in 1780 for one month in the same company. September 3, 1832, he applied for and was allowed a pension. At that time he lived in Oxford Township, Warren County, N. J. In 1839 he resided with his son-in-law, Dennis Snyder, in the township of Addison. He died in 1843 and was the first person buried in the Lakeville Cemetery. He is said to have served also in the war of 1812.

### CALEB PRATT.

"Departed this life on the 24th. ult. Caleb Pratt, Esq. aged 83 yrs. and 7 mos., at the residence of his son Capt. John W. Pratt, Springfield, Oakland County Michigan. Mr. Pratt was a soldier of the Revolution. He was a volunteer under the brave Stark of Bennington; and there fought shoulder to shoulder with his compatriots and contributed to the successful issue of that eventful day. The deceased in the course of his long and active life was frequently called by his fellow citizens to fill offices, both civil and military, and he discharged the duties thereof with honor to himself and satisfaction to the public."[27]

### SOLOMON JONES.

Solomon Jones came to Michigan in the fall of 1843 and first stopped in Springfield, where his wife died.[28]

He lived five years afterward with his son, Jesse, in Groveland and then went back to New York, where he stayed some time. Finally he returned to Michigan and lived with Jesse until June, 1865, when he died at the extreme old age of 105 years. He had served in the Revolutionary War, although but 15 years old when called upon to bear arms.[29]

### LYDIA BARNES POTTER.

General Richardson Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, learning of the services this loyal woman gave to her country, honored her grave with the official marker of the society, placed

[27]Obituary from Pontiac *Jacksonian*, June 13, 1843.
[28]Page 176 of *Oakland County History*.
[29]The children of Solomon Jones are:
I. Daniel, came from Orwell, Rutland Co., Vt., in 1837 to Michigan.
II. Timothy, came to Michigan in 1836 and settled in Springfield; later he went to Texas.
III. Jesse, b. in Essex Co., N. H., between Lake George and Lake Champlain; came to Michigan in 1838, locating in Groveland, Oakland County, Mich.

with appropriate services on the 19th of August, 1911 at the Baldwin Cemetery, near Rochester. Her granddaughter, Mrs. Abigail H. McArthur makes the following affidavit:

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

My grandfather, Lemuel Potter, was a Revolutionary soldier. He enlisted at Hartford, Conn. in 1777, when the Continental Army was organized. He had seen previous service in the militia companies. His officers were Colonel Wyllys and Capt. Robert Warner.

He was appointed a corporal, and with a corporal's guard was sent home to gather provisions and clothing for Washington's starving soldiers at Valley Forge. While engaged in this work he met Lydia Barnes, a young woman who was devoting her whole time and strength to the service of her country, by making clothing for the soldiers at the front. She spun and wove the wool and cut and made the garments, learning the tailor's trade that she might the more expeditiously supply the soldiers' needs. She worked so unremittingly at her task, standing continuously in a half bent position over her cutting table that she was never after able to stand upright.

When the young soldier, Lemuel Potter, returned to the front he had won the promise of Lydia Barnes to be his wife when the war was over. But owing to a ruling of Congress that a married man could draw a year's rations they were married earlier, on Feb. 2, 1779.

Lemuel Potter was in the engagement known as the storming of Stony Point and by his bravery on that occasion won the praise of his commander. On another occasion he was presented with a cane by his major, for meritorious conduct. The cane is now in my possession. He served till the end of the war and was honorably discharged. His military record was obtained from the Pension Bureau at Washington, D. C.

Lemuel Potter died Feb. 26, 1826, and is buried at Chili, N. Y. After his death his widow moved to Paint Creek, Oakland County, Michigan, and became an inmate of the family of my parents, Needham and Marilla Hemingway (her daughter), till the time of her death, ten years later. She died Aug. 1836, and is buried at Baldwin's Cemetery, Paint Creek, Oakland County, Michigan.

At the time she was a member of my mother's family, I was a young girl and testify of my own knowledge that the above facts are true, as I heard them related by my grandmother, Lydia Potter, in my childhood.

ABIGAIL H. MCARTHUR.

State of Mich. }
} ss.
County of Lapeer }

On this 19th day of Aug. 1911, personally appeared before me, a Notary Public in and for Lapeer Co., Mich., Abigail H. McArthur, who being duly sworn deposes and says that the above is true to the best of her knowledge and belief.

WM. E. MCCORMACK,
Notary Public.

My com. expires 4/1/13.
[Seal.]

JAMES HARRINGTON.

James Harrington's name appears as one of the earliest pioneers of this county, coming to Pontiac in 1820 or 1821. He made the first purchase of land in the township of West Bloomfield on the 15th of May, 1823. He entered the entire section 36. He served in the Rhode Island troops as corporal. He died in Oakland County, 1825, aged 62. His wife was Martha Gould. His daughter, Mary, married Elias Gates.

JACOB PETTY.

Jacob Petty, of Independence, claimed to have belonged to Washington's body-guard. His remains were removed from the farm where he died, to the Cemetery at Sashabaw Plains.

JOHN BLANCHARD.

John Blanchard's name is given in the list of pensioners of 1840,

where his residence is mentioned as White Lake, and his age as 77. The county records show that a John Blanchard, of Farmington, deeded land in 1834 to his daughter, Sophia Lakey, which in 1852 was sold by Sophia and Abraham Lakey to Ira F. Gage. In 1835, John Blanchard deeded 80 acres of land to his son David, whose wife was Sally. David owned one-half of the northeast quarter of Section 17 and deeded the same to Benjamin Sage, in 1839. John Blanchard's former residence was Meredith, Delaware County, N. Y.

ALTRAMONT DONALDSON.

Altramont Donaldson, another Revolutionary soldier, given in the pension list as aged 77, resided at Holly in 1840. He is buried in the Fenton cemetery.

JOSEPH VAN NETTER.

Joseph Van Netter was the first Revolutionary veteran to file an application for pension in the Oakland County court. On the date of his sworn statement February 12, 1822, he was 59 years old. He enlisted for one year, in April, 1775, in Captain Wendell's company of Colonel Wynkoop's regiment, in the line of the State [Colony] of New York, Continental establishment. He served till November. He then re-enlisted for the war in the same company and regiment, the latter being then commanded by Colonal Van Schaick. He completed his term of service, being engaged with the enemy at the battles of Monmouth and Yorktown. He was honorably discharged. He filed an inventory of all his worldly goods, which the court, Judge William Thompson presiding, valued at the munificent sum of nine dollars!

BENJAMIN BULSON.

Benjamin Bulson filed his declaration for a pension July 21, 1823, at which date he was aged 69 years. He enlisted in March, 1776, in a company of infantry on Long Island, commanded by Captain Thomas Mitchell and Lieutenant Cornell, in Colonel Van Courtlandt's regiment of General Putnam's brigade of New York troops. He served till August, 1776, when he was captured by the British at Brooklyn and sent to Halifax, having been wounded in the leg. From this wound, at the date of his declaration, he was still suffering, though nearly fifty years had elapsed since it was inflicted. He escaped from confinement at Halifax by dig-

ging out of the prison, and after lying in the woods for a long time, almost starving to death, he arrived at Salem, Mass., in September, 1779, and at once re-enlisted as a hand on the ship "Julius Brutus," commanded by Captain John Brooks. She carried eighteen guns and on her first cruise captured a British brig, to which Bulson was transferred as one of the prize crew. Soon afterwards the prize, re-taken by the British sloop of war "Hornet," was taken to New York, where Bulson was confined in the old prison-ship "Jersey," in Waalabout (Brooklyn). At the end of two months he escaped from the prison-ship. He cut off the rivets by which the iron bars which closed the port-holes were fastened, and swam ashore. He was, however, taken prisoner the next day by Major Murray's Tories, called "The King's American Dragoons," and was sentenced to receive 900 lashes for escaping. He did receive 450 lashes on his bare back, the last half-hundred being given after he had fainted from pain and exhaustion. He was then taken to the hospital, where he remained just long enough for the recovery of his strength, when he again escaped, and arrived in Salem early in 1781. All of the time from his enlistment to his final escape he had been without pay, with the exception of two months. While on the prison-ship he changed his name, on account of his Tory relatives on Long Island, who had threatened to kill him if they should get a chance. He therefore lost his individuality in the cognomen of Benjamin Smith, during the latter part of his life. His wife and himself were all the family he had, the former being 65 years old. His invoiced property was valued at $72.62½. It included one wagon and the old soldier's walking-staff.

### NATHAN LANDON.

Nathan Landon was the last of these Revolutionary soldiers to file a declaration in the Oakland courts for a pension, which he did November 13, 1828.[30] At that time he was 71 years old. He enlisted February 1, 1776, in Capt. Archibald Shaw's company in Col. Wm. C. Maxwell's regiment of New Jersey troops. He served in the same until November 14, 1776, when the regiment was dismissed by General Gates, at Ticonderoga. He and his wife, (70 years old), lived with a son, Stephen, and his family. The old people had no property save their wearing apparel and bedding.[31]

[30]Affidavit taken from the *Oakland County History*, page 1877.

[31]References: United States Government records; county, cemetery, church and private records; also the *Oakland County History* (1877) has been consulted in the compilation of this paper.

LIST OF SUBJECTS AND AUTHORS

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## NOTE.

Pending the preparation of a consolidated index to the 39 volumes of the Collections, this list of subjects and authors has been made. In the arrangement of the work it has seemed advisable to make an index of subjects as well as of titles. For practical purposes the present work will be found valuable in cases where names are not the object of the search, and where the searcher is reasonably familiar with the subject he is investigating, so that he has some knowledge of where his material is likely to be found. Great care has been exercised to make the list both accurate and intelligible, but it is not expected that it will be found without some mistakes or omissions.

Articles concerning cities, villages and townships have been listed under the counties in which they are located. This was found advisable for the reason that the history of the one often runs into the history of the others, and it was desirable to present the entire subject in a connected manner. For the same reason the individual lakes comprising the Great Lakes are to be found under the latter heading. Arbitrary divisions have been made, such as "Mining," "Antiquities," "Banks and Banking," "Wars": but cross references will guide the way to such general headings. In the matter of memorial reports of counties it was impossible to give all the names without approaching too nearly a general index. Moreover such references often would have been misleading for the reason that in most cases the amount of material in any particular report was neither of an extent nor of a nature to justify mention of individuals.

While the measure of the usefulness of this finding list can be known only after trial, it is anticipated that the list will answer the purposes of a consolidated index in the majority of cases where such an index would be consulted.

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